Daily Report

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Demand for Ethnic Albanian Presence at SFRY Talks

AU0509112791 Tirana ATA in English 1806 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 4 (ATA)—The government of the Republic of Albania supports and evaluates the decision for holding the conference of peace on Yugoslavia, considering it as a significant step to the peaceful solution of Yugoslav crisis. It firmly abides by the view that the this conference to be held in The Hague must be also attended by the representatives of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia who will have their say .

It declares that leaving the Albanians, the third population in Yugoslavia as for its number, after the Serbs and Croatians, outside this conference, would be unjustifiable and would question its real success. In case history is considered as a good teacher, its mistakes of the past should not be repeated.

Kapllani: Says SFRY People Should Decide Own State

AU0509114091 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 5 Sep 91

["Albanian Diplomacy Acts Under the New Conditions of the Season of Democracy"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 5 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper "BASHKIMI" carries an interview with the minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, which says among other things: In the period of monism the greatest error of very grave consequences in many directions was that stemming from the fact that the party was identified with the state, or it was practically the state. [sentence as received] Hence, in the field of foreign policy, the immovable platform of this state's policy was given in the party congresses. The Foreign Ministry had but to implement with fanaticism the party's definitions and orientations. It was in essence a barren policy, which everywhere faced eternal opponents and enemies who should be fought without compromise, something which led the country to a painful self-isolation harming in an indisputable way all our national cause. It was both painful and paradoxical that in the modern times, a tiny country as ours closed itself in its own shell. And what was worse to declare war to the USA, the Soviet Union and the EEC and great and important international organizations, World Bank etc.

One of the main commitments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the democratizing period of the country's life has been to remove the white spots existing in the country's diplomatic map. The establishment of the diplomatic relations with a number of countries, as recently with Israel, South Korea, the Republic of Cyprus, the preparations to establish soon diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and then with the South Africa etc, has served to this end. These witness that Albania today is a country pursuing a policy which is open and without prejudice.

Naturally, the minister underlines, in the new conditions of the season of democracy in our country a new and contemporary conception in the foreign affairs institutions is required. The renovation in the full meaning of the word has become today more than a necessity, an indispensability. It implies renewal in the structure of the ministry, of its staff and the representations. Our ministry is departicized. Actually it should serve only the national interests implementing the state policy defined by the government and adopted by the pluralist parliament.

Speaking of the Yugoslav crisis, the minister underscores: We have never urged the disintegration of Yugoslavia. As an artificially created state, if at present Yugoslavia is in crisis, it worries us for the same reasons of which the Balkans and Europe are also preoccupied, the more so because 3 million Albanians, that is half of our nation live in Yugoslavia. It is evident that Yugoslavia cannot exist as the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ [wartime Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. What would it be and whether Yugoslavia would exist, this depends on its peoples. In the adoption of any decision for its future, the Albanians, who account for the third population as for its number, should have their place on an equal footing together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia at the negotiating table.

Let us hope and believe that in this end of the century Europe not only would not repeat the injustices of the beginning of the century towards the Albanians, but will correct them. Neither Kosovo, nor Albania, Mr. Kapllani writes in conclusion, can be treated as it happened at the beginning of this century.

EBRD Approves Membership Request

AU0509111391 Tirana ATA in English 0855 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 5 (ATA)—The leaders of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] adopted Albania's request for membership in this bank, its spokesman in London informs on September 4. He added that now the request should be adopted also by the Council of the bank governors. "The leaders decided to recommend the Council of Governors to adopt the request" the spokesman underlined.

Albania, which demanded to join this bank since July, will be its 42nd auctioneer and the 8th country where it conducts operations. The bank governors may vote on Albania's membership through a mail voting. The spokesman stressed that the most backward East European country may not become member of this bank before the end of this year.

Visa-Free Travel for Official Visitors to Italy

AU0509113391 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 5 (ATA)—The agreement was reached between the government of the Republic of Albania and the government of the Italian Republic on September 4. It foresees the removal of visa for the nationals of the two countries equipped with diplomatic and official passports.

The agreement enters into force on October 1, this year.

Zhelev Lectures, Meets Vogel, Visits Dresden

AU0409185491 Sofia BTA in English 1806 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Report by special correspondent Panayot Denev: "Germany Shows an Interest in the Nature of Reforms in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Bonn, September 4 (BTA)—In Bulgaria the system of totalitarian dictatorship was much better organized in terms of police structures and ideology than in the other east European countries. The Communist Party had a monopoly on almost all governing and remunerative posts at all levels. Bulgaria's president pointed out this fact today as one of the main causes of the delay of the economic reform as compared to analogous processes in the former communist countries in central and eastern Europe.

President Zhelev delivered a lecture before the members of the influential Konrad Adenauer Foundation, in which he explained the development of the political processes in Bulgaria. This should be done, as he said, because many people in the West, being accustomed to the spirit of the Western parliamentary democracy, cannot find an explanation for the victory of the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party in the comparatively free and democratic elections in June 1990.

Dr. Zhelev spoke about the policy of Zhivkov's regime which impeded the formation of a strong internal opposition and managed to deceive the West, accumulating a huge foreign debt. Zhivkov's successors are using enormous funds to give an idea of a repentant new party. And yet the opposition won one-third of the seats in parliament.

The foundation welcomed heartily Dr. Zhelev as Bulgaria's first democratically elected president. He spoke about other specific aspects of the situation in Bulgaria. He said that the latest Amnesty International report lists it among the few countries which do not violate civil freedoms and individual rights. He said that the Prosecutor's Office is investigating the culprits for the coercive assimilation campaign against Bulgarian ethnic Turks and Muslims, which was a heavy blow on the country's international prestige and opened a deep gap in interethnic relations in Bulgaria.

Speaking on the processes of dismantling the totalitarian system, President Zhelev pointed out that Bulgarian society has not acquired yet the dimensions of a normal democratic society like the ones in the West. He described the present condition of the Bulgarian society as post-totalitarian.

Dr. Zhelev elaborated on the changes in Bulgaria's external policy, which is now oriented to the West. Bulgaria is seeking guarantees of its national security in the all-European collective security system. This country sets great store by its relations with the Balkan countries. In this connection President Zhelev expressed great concern over developments in Yugoslavia, condemned the use of force and arms and insisted that the rights of the individual republics be respected, including the right to self-determination, until they form separate states.

Dr. Zhelev expounded the principles, achievements and unresolved problems of Bulgaria's economic reform. He singled out the preservation of civil and social peace as the greatest success along Bulgaria's road to democracy. This still is a complicated task in the conditions of extreme economic difficulties.

On the third day of his official visit to Germany, President Zhelev was welcomed by Mr. Hans Daniels, Bonn's buromaster, and had a one-hour talk with the chairman of the faction of the Social Democratic Party at the Bundestag Hans-Jochen Vogel. Dr. Zhelev attended a dinner given in his honour by the management of the German Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

The third day of the visit started in Dresden, the capital of the eastern province of Saxony. President Zhelev and the attending persons discussed with Prof. Kurt Biedenkopf, prime minister of the province, ministers and business executives, some of the complex problems of bilateral cooperation. Saxony accounted for one-third of Bulgaria's economic contacts with what was formerly Eastern Germany. Now the structure of the economy and the principles of economic organization are changing rapidly but for most manufacturers east European markets, including Bulgaria, will remain a priority. The German side pointed out that a speedy bringing of Bulgarian legislation up to European standards would encourage the new economic structures in the eastern provinces to maintain cooperation and investment. A case in point is the Lamed Medical and Laboratory Equipment Plant, which has worked in cooperation with Bulgaria for 30 years. It was visited by the Bulgarian delegation.

President Zhelev will have important talks with Chancellor Kohl, with Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister for foreign affairs, and Mr. Johannes Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, tomorrow, the last day of his visit.

Green Party Again Full Member of SDS

AU0209091791 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 Aug 91 p 2

[Report by Krum Slavov: "Events in USSR Turned Into Test for Political Ethics"]

[Text] Three main topics gave rise to debate at the regular session of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] on 26 August. In the first place, the matter of ending the freeze on the Green Party's SDS membership needed to be resolved, following the extraordinary national conference in Plovdiv at the end of last week. The party's newly elected chairman, Mr. Khristo Biserov, briefed the National Coordinating Council on the forum's work and its representative character, after which the meeting voted to recognize the conference's legality and to restore the Green Party's full membership in the SDS.

The second item on the agenda—the internal political aspect of last week's events in the USSR and the reaction of the various political forces and government institutions in Bulgaria to them—provoked lively debate. National Coordinating Council Chairman Filip Dimitrov stressed that these events, above all, show the strength and the resilience of the democratic processes, even in a place where they are happening slowly, even in the country of "perestroyka". However, from another point of view, what happened during the last few days unequivocally demonstrates the serious threat to civil peace and democracy posed by organizations of a communist nature and background, when they are close to the government.

In this context, the question of the Bulgarian Socialist Party-Bulgarian Communist Party's property was raised, and a decision was adopted that the SDS members of the legislature introduce a bill for the confiscation of this property at the very first session of the legislature.

The status and privileges of the SDS National Coordinating Council's Commission for Nominations for Members of Parliament and Local Governing Organs was also of central interest. The consultative nature of the commission was stressed; it had the right to propose candidates but not to decide (or confirm) their nomination. In fact, the nomination of candidates will be made, in practice, in accordance with the decisions of the Third SDS National Conference—at the grass-roots level, by the citizens' committees and the local coordinating councils.

Later on in the briefing, an SDS declaration was read on the right of self-determination for all of the peoples of the USSR, and associated recognition of the independence of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Republic of Bulgaria. The SDS National Coordinating Council's letter to USSR President M. Gorbachev and RSFSR President B. Yeltsin was also read, which hailed their honorable stance during the coup and after its collapse. "For the first time in history, the world's fate was decided not by force but by morals; force collapsed because of its amorality, the letter states. The Bulgarian opposition today realizes one thing with pride and joy: Despite the fact that the opposition maintained political positions different from those of the communist Gorbachev, it proved to hold the same moral position as this man, who has earned the gratitude of history..."

Answering questions from journalists, Mr. Dimitrov clarified the fact that the SDS has submitted an application to participate in legislative and local government elections and to register its blue ballot paper. This application is filed under No. 1 [sentence as published].

First Issue of SDS-Liberals' Daily Published

AU0309123691 Sofia BTA in English 1024 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—"The Bulgarian opposition has become heterogeneous and this confuses many of its supporters. But it has a common goal: The removal of the tyranny of state socialism," reads the editorial in the first issue of "DEMOKRATSIYA '91," daily of the Union of Democratic Forces-Liberals (the moderate Bulgarian opposition). The moderate wing of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] was formed in spring. An agreement was signed between the Green Party, the Federation of Democracy Clubs, the Democratic Party/Plovdiv/, the Ecoglasnost Political Club and the Club of Repressed.

"DEMOKRATSIYA '91" describes itself as "the newspaper of sound reason in politics."

Editor-in-chief of the new daily is Mr. Tsvetozar Tomov, sociologist by profession. In his editorial he criticizes the "social market economy" myth, which is fundamental in the election platform of the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party. "Talking about social market economy in Bulgaria today is a sign either of naivety or of demagogy," Mr. Tomov writes.

An article by Mr. Stanimir Ivanov says that the liberal idea in Bulgaria is making its second start.

The first issue also contains a feature about some real estate property in Moskovska St. in Sofia which the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party refuses to turn back, and the results of an opinion poll according to which Bulgarians value most highly the family (76 per cent), calmness and security (62 per cent) and personal freedom (46 per cent), last in the ratings list is politics with 14 per cent.

BZNS-United Seeks Election Allies, Tells Aims

AU0309200891 Sofia BTA in English 1513 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) (BZNS-E) regards the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Nikola Petkov BZNS) as its natural ally in the forthcoming elections. It leaders saw this possibility after two days ago the Nikola Petkov BZNS declared that it will run on an independent ticket in the elections. So far no official proposal for such cooperation has been made, reporters were told at today's press conference of the BZNS-E. At present the party is conducting active negotiations with the Constitutional Forum for an election campaign coalition. According to the BZNS-E a strong union of democratic forces (SDS) and a United Agrarian Party will guarantee the opposition's success in the elections. The BZNS-E hopes to win between 35 and 50 out of the total 240 seats in the new Bulgarian parliament.

At the press conference it was pointed out once again that the BZNS-E would under no conditions cooperate with the Bulgarian Socialist Party (former Communist Party).

Journalists were reminded of the repeatedly made proposal of the BZNS-E for the opposition forces not only to sign political agreements between each other but also a moral code—an agreement on loyal [fair] campaigning.

The BZNS-E will publish its election platform tomorrow. One of the aims the party has set itself is to impart greater stability to the institutions as an important precondition for the success of the reform and of the democratization of this country. In the economic field its ambitions are to provide sufficient food for the population. The BZNS-E is for a priority development of agriculture. The party has concrete proposals for saving polluted areas, for mitigating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident, for reconsidering the state policy in respect to nuclear power generation. It proposes to reduce the term of conscription to 12 months. On the initiative of the BZNS a year ago the term of conscription was reduced from 24 to 18 months.

Reportage on Court Refusal To Register DPS

Generals Support Refusal

AU0309094691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Aug 91 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Reserve Generals Support Court Refusal To Register Rights and Freedoms Party"]

[Text] Regardless of what formal changes are introduced in the charter of the Movement on Rights and Freedoms [DPS], they cannot change its essence as a political party based on ethnic and religious foundations and aimed against our national unity, a declaration of the "Generals for Peace, Security, and Democracy" Club reads. The club was established two months ago as a part of the Union of Reserve Officers and Petty Officers. The declaration approves of the decision of Sofia City Court, which rejected the request to register the Rights and Freedoms Party as a regular political party. It demands that the DPS representative be expelled from the Central Election Commission.

The letter of the Turkish prime minister to Prime Minister Dimitur Popov is described as an unprecedented act of open interference in internal affairs and support for the DPS request, the declaration reads, calling the letter a dictate.

Turkish 'Interference' Condemned

AU0309094391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Aug 91 p 1

[DUMA PRESS report: "Second Yilmaz Letter Is Unprecedented and Greatly Alarms Nationwide Committee on Defense of National Interests"]

[Text] In our view, the "concern" of Mr. Mesut Yilmaz [at the refusal by the Sofia court to register the Movement of Rights and Freedoms as a political party] is a rude and unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state such as Bulgaria. This is pointed out in a declaration of the Nationwide Committee on Defense of National Interests, read at a news conference in Sofia on 29 August. The committee's leadership states in the declaration that it supports the political parties and movements and the group of National Assembly members who defended the Constitution. They demand that the National Assembly, President Zhelev, and the Council of Ministers adopt a joint declaration in which they express their attitude toward the "scandalous letter" of Mesut Yilmaz.

We have received no confirmation from the Council of Ministers that a second letter from Mesut Yilmaz has been received.

DPS Activities Among Muslims Examined

AU0409075491 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 3 Sep 91

[BTA report: "Bulgaria's Partition in the Offing?"]

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—At a news conference today a representative of the National Security Service (the counterintelligence service) confirmed the press disclosures of an activation of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) in the Rhodope Mountains (southern Bulgaria), an area populated by compact masses of Pomaks, or Bulgarian Mohammedans. At present there are about 310,000 Pomaks in Bulgaria.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms has a membership of at least 100,000 Bulgarian citizens identifying themselves as ethnic Turks. The judicial authorities recently denied registration to a Rights and Freedoms Party, based on the movement and pursuing ethnic objectives.

Representatives of the Rakovski Officers Legion, who are also members of the National Security Service, told the press they had evidence supplied by their colleagues in military units around the country and specifically in the borderland areas which prove that DPS emissaries exert pressure on Bulgarian Mohammedans.

There was even a mention of a treaty "signed in blood" between the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and Ilinden, an unconstitutional separatist organization, on the territorial partition of Bulgaria.

Yesterday and today "DUMA," the daily of the Socialist Party, ran articles by one and the same author which sharply criticize the activity of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. The features acknowledge the legitimacy of the movement's demands raised when it was set up in 1985, during the forced assimilation of Bulgarian Turks. At that time the organization, which operated underground, was called Turkish National Liberation Movement in Bulgaria (TNODB).

Along with that, the articles emphasize points in the policy documents of the TNODB which define the Bulgarian people, rather than the totalitarian political system, the authorities and the government as the number one enemy.

The articles admit that the Turks were forced to change their names but denies the charges that Bulgarian citizens identifying themselves as ethnic Turks were subjected to genocide. The author explains that the clashes with the security

forces left seven or eight Bulgarian Turks dead. When the Turks responded by terrorist acts (blowing up a railway car with travelling mothers and children, staging a bombing attack on the railway station in Plovdiv, etc.), the fatal and non-fatal casualties were much more numerous.

At present, of all 300,000 Bulgarian Mohammedans barely 15,000 speak Turkish and have shaped to some extent a Turkish ethnic identity. The features emphasize that the DPS is trying to speed up the Turkization of those people by adding the Turkish language to the Islamic religion. In a number of clubs and mosques (which, according to the author, already outnumber the Orthodox churches) children are taught by textbooks imported from Turkey.

There is nothing new about the Turkization of Bulgarian citizens, the features say. Tens of thousands of gypsies were subjected to that treatment over the last forty years. In the 1956 census 130,000 of them identified themselves as Turks. Similar processes are evident among the Tartars, the Kizilbashes and others.

The author, Associate Professor Stayko Trifonov, claims that the DPS is seeking persistently and not without success to impose its authority in certain parts of the country. It gradually assumes the role of a state factor, he emphasizes. It simulates "grass roots" pressure by sit-in strikes in public buildings. Teachers and school principals are dismissed as well as business managers, and the ousters are presented as "removal of nomenklatura personnel." The dismissed are all Bulgarians. In Krumovgrad, southern Bulgaria, the DPS is even trying to supersede the Interior Ministry authorities. Notices are posted up in public places on the recruitment of young people for the police schools and the Higher School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The author singles out as a striking fact the formation of DPS structures with "security and counterintelligence functions." They are supposed to detect agents of the National Security Service, to gather information on the operation of various state bodies, political parties etc.

The movement carries out specific activity in the economic sphere. The organization is trying to impose itself as the key economic factor in the areas with compact Muslim populations. Gradually and patiently, it is building a network of DPS-controlled private companies which orient their business to Turkey and the Arab world. The movement aspires to turn into an intermediary for the influx of Turkish capital into Bulgaria.

"There is the particularly dangerous tendency to bind economically the Rhodope area and the Deli Orman [Ludogorie] northeastern Bulgaria) with Turkey," the author writes.

According to the associate professor, the DPS has already taken control of more than 100 Bulgarian Turks' companies. The DPS hopes to use the Plovdiv-based Agrobusiness Bank to attract major foreign capital and get a large share in the forthcoming privatization.

The ethnoreligious basis of the DPS's activity is also evident in the nature of its relations with the Republic of Turkey, Associate Professor Trifonov writes. In his personal view, the political leadership of the movement is controlled by the representatives of Turkey in Bulgaria.

The representative of the National Security Service in the Rakovski Legion said that the DPS leadership leads a rather active dialogue with Turkish diplomats in Bulgaria.

In conclusion, the "DUMA" articles discuss the participation of the DPS in Bulgarian politics. In the 1990 general elections the movement won 23 parliamentary seats. Many constituencies returned to parliament the candidates who got the support of the DPS electorate in the second round of voting, the author writes. "I do not doubt that this will also be the case at the forthcoming parliamentary elections," he adds.

If the DPS retains its form as a political party, it will get at least 400,000 votes, the associate professor believes. Mr. Dogan, the movement's leader, may well achieve his publicly declared dream: to arbitrate in the formation of the new Bulgarian Government after the elections.

Under the new conditions in Bulgaria which are deliberately created, the supporters of the DPS will not be able to view Bulgaria as their homeland, the author emphasizes. At the first possible cataclysms in the destabilized Bulgarian society, thousands of emigrants will again head south, he writes.

KNSB Leader Predicts Possible Conflicts

AU0309074591 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 27 Aug 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Dr. Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, by Lyuben Genov; place and date not given: "Any Strike Destroys What Has Been Achieved"]

[Text] "From the viewpoints of the economic reform and the interrelations between the trade unions and the government, at the moment there is no sense in having strikes or in trying to resolve workers' and employees' problems and claims through them," stated Professor Petkov. "Quite the reverse. Every strike held now destroys what has been achieved and delays the negotiations. In addition, they cause conflicts between those who agree to grit their teeth and carry on working against those who resort to strikes."

[Genov] Nonetheless, who really organized the miners' strike?

[Petkov] The information that we have available shows that the strike was prepared at the offices of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. Naturally, it was well conceived because there has been a very long delay in settling a number of issues of interest to the miners—primarily, their claims for a tripling of wages, for buying officially owned apartments, and so on. Later, using

Jesuitic cunning, the strike was represented as a spontaneous one, starting from the grass roots.

[Genov] In the situation that has emerged, what sort of relations will the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] have with the government in the future?

[Petkov] On Saturday [24 August], our Executive Committee was for cutting all ties to the government. However, we realized that this would not be sensible. Only 45 days are left before the election. If we take such actions, we may discredit our organization or aid those people who prefer for the elections to be postponed or to be held in a different situation. Our decision is that we will maintain the minimum possible working relationship with the government within the framework of the accords already reached, without undertaking anything new. The government, evidently sensing the approach of the election, is becoming less active, but it is also making gaffes of the kind that emerged on 23 August with the signing of the agreement with Podkrepa.

[Genov] How do you explain the signing of such an agreement without your participation?

[Petkov] It is because of the compromise that Deputy Prime Minister Ludzhev and the people conducting the negotiations on his side tried to reach. However, this is a risky compromise that is foreign to principled agreements. I leave aside the attempt to shut out our confederation, which remained a reliable partner to the end. It is very dangerous to sign such agreements, in which the final clause sounds something like this: The government does not observe the laws and recommends that others should not abide by them, either!

[Genov] How do you explain this?

[Petkov] The only reasonable conjecture is that the government wants to do everything possible to preserve social peace, even if this means laying an explosive charge in the sociopolitical situation, a charge that I believe Podkrepa will make use of later for nontrade-union purposes, unless all democratic organizations and movements draw the right conclusion and completely expose what has happened.

[Genov] In your opinion, how is the reform proceeding in Bulgaria, and what are the chief mistakes that the government has made?

[Petkov] The reform kicked off with a package of monetary measures. These have started working, but their effects have not finally been felt. In this very sphere, the government permitted a breathing space in the May-July period, when it started to function at a slower rate under pressure caused by the ineffective functioning of the legislature and the instability in the country, and perhaps also confused by its own stance of desperate determination. This was a mistake because the reform had its own rhythm, and this can only be a fast one.

The second mistake, in my opinion, was that the measures were harsher than necessary. I understand the logic of the finance minister and his team, who believed it was necessary to clear the air, to sweep away everything unnecessary in the artificially created command economy that we had inherited, and to force the economy to harden up. However, we have reached the point when the economy, having firmed up, is now becoming moribund. I have in mind not only the high interest rates but also the delay in sending signals to the enterprises and industries hinting that the harsh antisocial policy would be followed by measures to revive the economy.

The government's third main mistake was to underestimate the importance of a balance between monetary and financial measures, on the one hand, and social protection measures on the other. I am referring to protection of the socially disadvantaged, developing a second safety net, combating long-term unemployment, and offering alternatives to people in a hopeless situation. This is the main defect of any monetary policy, yet our government unthinkingly repeated what other countries have done.

[Genov] What conflicts do you foresee before the election?

[Petkov] There are several possibilities. One conflict is already appearing over the horizon among those who tried to reform from within a party (a totalitarian one, to put it mildly) that, in fact, has turned out to be a military-political organization. The events in the Soviet Union have demonstrated that it is impossible to reform such an organization. In this context, I expect many major attacks on those people in the former ruling class who still hold key positions at all levels.

The second conflict that I foresee (though God forbid it should happen) will be connected with the registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. Despite the well-known divergences in the behavior of the people who stood behind this movement, it seems to me that its leaders will do everything possible to take part in the election and have their representatives elected to the National Assembly. Incidentally, many people who are capable of analyzing the situation are awaiting 8 September with trepidation—the day when Macedonia holds its referendum.

The third conflict that may occur, and which directly concerns the KNSB, has to do with the risk of a social explosion in the enterprises and branches of industry, especially those facing complete bankruptcy. In the absence of any program or elements of a national strategy for our economic reform, I expect that, about the time of the elections and a little afterwards, social peace will be seriously disrupted, without any intervention on the part of Podkrepa or the KNSB. One cannot survive for a long period without wages or any basic prospects, nor can one earn bread for one's family without a job....

[Genov] When do you expect Bulgaria will begin to produce goods in a normal way?

[Petkov] I believe the professional economists, not those whose assessments and theories include political elements.

At the very earliest, this will happen during the middle of next year. Our painful emergence from the crisis cannot take place earlier than the end of this decade. I continue to maintain that our people want to know the truth but also demand guarantees that what they are told will be implemented. If I were in the politicians' shoes, I would choose the position of harsh realism.

[Genov] Let us conclude on a different note. What good things has the government done?

[Petkov] The government's greatest contribution is that so far it has preserved social and civil peace and found the courage to begin the most desperate and risky reform of all those in Eastern Europe. However, it has failed to find the necessary ways and alternatives to continue the reform. However, I would not want to blame the government alone for this because it is a product of the agreement reached between the political forces.

Stambolov Liberals Expel Khristo Antanosov

AU0409181791 Sofia BTA in English 1720 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—The Coordinating Committee of the Stefan Stambolov Popular Liberal Party informed "all amazed supporters of the party" that it expels the impostor and opportunist Khristo Atanasov from Krumovgrad. On September 2, behind the backs of the leadership and in sharp contrast with the organization's statute, he signed a ridiculous election union with the BSP-BCP [Bulgarian Socialist Party-Bulgarian Communist Party].

The Coordinating Council has addressed a letter to the BTA, signed by Mr. Atanas Stamenov, saying that Mr. Atanasov's signature under the election coalition is invalid. By his actions Mr. Atanasov tried to put the name of new Bulgaria's builder Stefan Stambolov in service of those who did their best to erase him from the mind of Bulgarians and who sold their fatherland to the USSR, says the document.

Stefan Stambolov (1854-1895) is a prominent Bulgarian politician who pursued an independent political line. He was prime minister in the period 1887-1894 and contributed much to the creation of a better image of new Bulgaria abroad. Murdered in 1895.

New Intelligence Chief Appointment Reported

AU0309184791 Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov neither denied nor confirmed the unofficial news that the National Intelligence Service has a new chief—Lieutenant Colonel Veliko Asparukhov. Declining to comment on this question, he nevertheless said that the intelligence services are directly subordinated to the Presidency and that their problems concern the Council of Ministers only to the extent that it adopts their budget. According to Mr. Tomov it is neither moral nor constitutional for any member of the Council of Ministers to interfere with these services. Mr. Tomov also said that they have great problems at the security services and that most probably the Parliamentary Committee on National Security will have to discuss them, if this parliament does not have the time, then they will have to be discussed by the next one.

Deputy Prime Minister Tomov described as outrageous and as an unprecedented fact in European practice the publications which appeared in the Bulgarian press disclosing data about the intelligence services. This act deserves a special investigation, and those who are responsible should be put on trial, he said.

Recently two papers—"POGLED" and "24 CHASA," reported on contacts between Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev and Deputy Chief of the National Intelligence Service Radoslav Raykov as well as of "unusual contacts between Mr. Raykov and the Turkish special services" during Mr. Raykov's appointment in Turkey. Before that the press published the names of presumably still acting intelligence agents. Today Mr. Dimitur Yonchev (BSP) [Bulgarian Socialist Party], chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security, accused parliament and the presidential institution of impeding the work of the commission.

Communications Committee Denies Wiretapping

AU0209171191 Sofia BTA in English 1620 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 2 (BTA)—The Communications and Informatics Committee denies the recent publications in the mass media about violations of the privacy of correspondence and telephone conversations of top state officials and of leaders of political parties and trade unions, says a statement of the committee's leadership, signed by its chairman, Mr. Atanas Popov.

"We confirm once again that the Communications and Informatics Committee and the sections of the National Communication System have no structures involved in such activities," says the document. "Our rights and obligations are regulated by the Communications Act and the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria and are strictly observed," states the leadership of the committee.

Listening Device 'Discovered' in Ludzhev's Office

AU0309202191 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—On August 26 a listening device was discovered in the office of Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev of the Union of Democratic Forces, 20-25 centimetres beneath the floor, national television reported this evening. During the check the device was inoperable, i.e. it was not transmitting signals for recording.

A similar check in the office of the president produced just as interesting results. The National Intelligence Service promised to supply details in a couple of days' time.

Mr. Ludzhev's office was checked for bugs by an expert of the National Intelligence Service who was interviewed by TV reporter Ekaterina Genova. The expert, who spoke on conditions of anonymity, said that state-of-the-art equipment was used in the check which, however, was not the ultimate which the service had at its disposal.

The expert and the deputy director of the National Security Service say that the listening device found in Mr. Ludzhev's office was old, but efficient and in working order. Both told the TV reporter that the former Security and Protection Department (now converted into a national bodyguard service) had a listening and recording post at the headquarters of the former Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (now housing the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party) [BSP]. The intelligence men had information that the post remained in use after November 10, 1989, when Todor Zhivkov was ousted from power. So far, however, competent experts have not carried out an on-site inspection.

Three hours before television reported this news, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov of the BSP told the press he believed that the checks in his office and in the offices of Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev and Prime Minister Mr. Dimitur Popov showed there was nothing to worry about. Mr. Tomov described as "unserious" the allegations by the leaders of some parties and trade unions that their telephones were tapped. On Sunday BSP leader Mr. Aleksandur Lilov said in the weekly political review "Sunday 150" on national radio that his telephone was bugged and was disconnected once every five minutes. The secretary of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, Mr. Radoslav Nenov, today issued a declaration claiming that the Podkrepa leadership had evidence to prove that the telephones of the trade union were tapped.

BSP's Yonchev Denies Socialists Tapped Phones

AU0409205291 Sofia BTA in English 1950 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—A network of cables, known as a "security system," connects the buildings of the former State Council (now the President's Office), the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (now the Socialists' headquarters). This network was controlled from a room in the building of the former CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] which burned down in the fire in August last year, it was reported this evening on the national television, which continues to follow the "Telephonegate" affair.

So far it has not been clarified whether the cables found in the office of Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev are part of this network.

Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, denied before a TV reporter that there is a wire-tapping centre in the building of the Supreme Council. "Rumours which cannot be substantiated by a single fact," he said. The superintendent of the building who has worked there since 1969 categorically denies that such activities have been conducted there.

TV audiences were shown two of the rooms which used to house the guards of the Council of Ministers, the State Council and the CC of the BCP. Only these two rooms on this floor burned down in the fire. According to the superintendent, every district police station has the same equipment as the one whose remains were shown on TV. He said that the building has not been examined by any expert commission since November 10, 1989.

Papers Comment on Telephone-Tapping Allegations

AU0409161491 Sofia BTA in English 1341 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—The claims of state officials and political leaders that their telephones are being tapped and the results of a check-up, effected by experts of the National Intelligence Department in the Council of Ministers and the Presidency, which were aired by the national television last night, are in the highlights of today's press.

"DEMOKRATSIYA" unhesitatingly accepts the declaration of Mr. Radoslav Nenov, secretary of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, that Podkrepa's telephone, fax and telex lines are being tapped. The author repeats the same daily's report from last week, claiming that Prime Minister Dimitur Popov has got tapes of tapped conversations in Podkrepa's offices and emphasizes that Mr. Popov has not yet denied these allegations. The daily carries yesterday's television report in details and explains that after wire-tapping equipment had been discovered in the study of Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev, the Intelligence Department experts informed the respective department of the Ministry of the Interior. It made a check and discovered pipes at the indicated place under the inlaid floor.

"DUMA" carries a statement of Mr. Khristo Kraychev, press attache of the Ministry of the Interior, who claims that the ministry's employees have not taken part in the discovery of tapping equipment in the studies of Deputy Prime Minister Ludzhev and the chief of the office of the president Mr. Trifonov. The same daily believes that even Podkrepa itself might have been involved in the tapping scandal, as it has supporters in key positions in the telephone communications system. "DUMA" also suggests that Mr. Ludzhev and Mr. Trifonov might have installed the tapping equipment "themselves."

Podkrepa's daily focuses its attention on the tapping equipment which is believed to operate in the Bulgarian Socialist Party's headquarters. One of the daily's photographers tried to take a peep into the mysterious room with the equipment, but it turned out that no one had ever heard about such a room there.

"FAKS" carries an interview with Bulgaria's ex-Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov. He is certain in his times State

Security has installed tapping equipment in the Council of Ministers. He himself has never given such orders but the ministers used to make their most important calls from outside their studies or to send each other written messages. The special services that were entitled to install tapping equipment were directly subordinate to the interior minister at that time, Dimitur Stoyanov, who was answerable solely and personally to Todor Zhivkov. Georgi Atanasov explains that the unseating of Todor Zhivkov was discussed and prepared through written messages.

'White Paper' on State Security Activities

AU0409095191 Sofia BTA in English 0752 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—The KGB had full access to all spheres of life in Bulgaria, an opposition MP recently said in a televised interview from the building of the former State Security. This was provided for in the agreement between the two departments. TV viewers were shown a copy of the last agreement.

The MP said that a government commission is working on a "white paper" on the wrongful acts of the State Security until November 10, 1989.

According to the available documents 1,500 of the 1,700 archive units of Section Six of Department Six (the former political police) of the former State Security have been destroyed. This was ordered by the last chief of the section. Department Six, which engaged in the surveillance of "counterrevolutionary elements," detained 1,300 people without legal grounds from the beginning of 1989 to November 10, 1989 alone.

During the so-called regenerative process (the coercive change of the names of the Bulgarian Turks), which started in 1984, two decrees regulating the work of the State Security were in force—one "for the sake of presentability" and the other regulating the direct subordination of the department to the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], i.e. to Todor Zhivkov. There is no written order for the change of names but there are transcripts of the Ministry of the Interior which indicate that the initiative was supervised by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP and by the first party secretaries in the country.

The paper lists the names of the people killed during the so-called regenerative process—10 people in 1984 and 10 in 1985. It also mentions the suppressed fact that in the spring of 1989, 5,000 people were extradited from this country. (Then the official authorities asserted that all who were leaving Bulgaria were doing this voluntarily.)

The "white paper" also goes into the mysterious death in London of Bulgarian Emigre writer Georgi Markov, the papal assassination attempt, drugs trafficking and large economic shady deals. In the shady economic deals section there feature the names of former Prime Minister Grisha Filipov, former Minister of Trade Khristo Khristov and of leaders of large organizations.

EC Statistics Detail Balance of Trade

AU0409200491 Sofia BTA in English 1911 GMT 4 Sep 91

["Exclusive" report by Paul Montgomery: "Trade Relations With the EC, United States, Japan"]

[Text] Brussels, September 4 (BTA)—The European Commission released trade figures today showing that Bulgaria has improved its trade position with the European Community over the last two years while losing ground in the United States and Japan.

According to the statistics, which are derived from national trade figures, Bulgaria's exports to the European Community rose from 531 million ECU [European Currency Unit] (627 million U.S. dollars) in 1989 to 584 million ECU (689 million U.S. dollars) in 1990, a gain of 10 per cent. Exports to the United States from Bulgaria dropped 20 per cent in the same period, from 59.1 million U.S. dollars in 1989 to 47.3 million U.S. dollars in 1990. The balance was even worse in Bulgarian exports to Japan, dropping 22 per cent from 45 million U.S. dollars in 1989 to 35 million U.S. dollars in 1990.

Imports by Bulgaria from the European Community dropped 39 per cent, from 1,476 million ECU (1,742 million U.S. dollars) in 1989 to 901 million ECU (1,063 million U.S. dollars) last year. There was a drop of 53 per cent in imports from the United States, from 181 million U.S. dollars to 84.3 million U.S. dollars, and a decrease of 67 per cent in imports from Japan, from 184 million U.S. dollars in 1989 to 54 million U.S. dollars last year.

Import Decrease Results in Trade Surplus

AU0409114391 Sofia BTA in English 1113 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—Bulgaria's trade surplus in the first seven months of this year amounts to 166 million dollars, it was announced at a press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations today. This is a result of the quicker shrinking of import in comparison to export in the last few months.

In July Bulgaria's export dropped by 49.9 percent as against the same period of 1990. This marked a positive tendency in comparison with the first half of the year when the drop was 56.1 percent as against the same period last year.

The tendency for the export to exceed import has also been preserved. This is the result both of the measures for encouraging export, adopted by the government, and of the exchange rate of the dollar which holds back import, Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, said.

The decline in the export to the countries of central and Eastern Europe is continuing and the share of the USSR dropped from 60 percent at the beginning of the year to

50 percent in July. Export to the EC countries has increased by 6 percent as against 1990.

Bulgaria's import dropped by 68 percent in the first seven months of this year as against the same period of 1990. Import for rubles dropped by 76 percent. The USSR accounts for 51 percent of Bulgaria's total import, followed by the EC countries—19 percent and the countries of Eastern Europe—9 percent.

Transferable ruble settlements are continuing and by the end of the year Bulgaria and the USSR will proceed to trade in convertible currency, Mr. Paparizov said.

Bulgarian-Russian Shareholders Bank Founded

AU0409131391 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 29 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Emiliya Markova]

[Text] A Bulgarian-Russian Shareholders Bank has been founded. Its provisional name is "Bulinkom." Its founders are the Bulgarian Commercial-Industrial Chamber and the Russian Shareholders "Inkombank." Major Soviet enterprises and private companies are involved with this bank, whose basic capital amounts to R330 million. The Russian bank has branches in eight union republics.

On 28 August in Sofia, an agreement, in principle, was signed on founding the Bulgarian-Russian bank. That agreement was preceded by another agreement on cooperation that had been signed between the Bulgarian Commercial-Industrial Chamber and the Union of USSR Managers, whose chairman, Mr. Vladimir Groshev, is also chairman of the "Inkombank" board.

The agreements that were signed will revive and expand the existing Bulgarian-USSR economic relations and place them on a fundamentally new basis, which will encourage private business initiative. "The USSR is interested in the Bulgarian market," Mr. Groshev, who heads the delegation of USSR managers to Bulgaria, said. "It is our task to create conditions of cooperation that will facilitate production in both countries and overcome the present stagnation. Russian businessmen are willing to invest in the Bulgarian economy. On the other hand, there are proposals for Bulgarian investments—for example, in the sphere of raw materials."

It has been envisaged that the constituent capital of the joint Bulgarian-Russian bank will be 50-100 million leva, and the two sides will have equal shares. Commercial banks, financial companies, and private and state Bulgarian and Russian companies can become shareholders. The package of constituent documents will be submitted to the Bulgarian National Bank. The license is expected by the end of September.

Minister Accuses Land Council of 'Sabotage'

AU0209090491 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 27 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Dimitur Genchev]

[Text] "The Decision of the National Land Council for the former owners of 70 percent of the farm land to farm this land on a temporary basis is a criminal act and sabotage of the reform," Boris Spirov, minister of agriculture and the food industry, stated on 26 August.

This is illegal, represents a deliberate delay of the final return of the land, and creates new restrictions, the minister continued. (Former owners are not entitled to change the kinds of crops sown or the permanent plantations, and are permitted to sow only annual crops.)

The rural nomenklatura will seek reasons to delay the sowing of the land so that hunger and tension reign again next year. I will demand an immediate replacement of the National Land Council leadership, Mr. Spirov declared, because the council is not making a start on restoring ownership of the land.

Khristo Papazov, a chief expert working for the National Land Council, explained that the council's leadership adopted, as long ago as 6 August, the decision that the former owners of the land should use it on a temporary basis. A telex communication signed by Aleksandur Tomov was immediately sent out to all of the regional and local land commissions. However, a few days later, a second communication suspended the decision until the National Land Council had issued instructions on how it was to be applied.

In Mr. Papazov's view, the aim is to ensure that former owners who have no employment will have some kind of income. I do not know how many applications have been sent in, he said, but the deadline for receiving land this fall is 10 September. I do not know to what the reprimands from the Agriculture Ministry refer.

According to Minister Spirov, the government is also waging a cold war with the labor cooperative farms. The farms have accumulated debts of over 100 million leva from 1988 to the present and want the government to cancel them. He pointed out that, under the new Law on Cooperatives, the farms have to reregister by 1 March 1992, yet their chairmen are selling animals and machinery that do not belong to them.

Federal, Republic Governments Agree on Tax Laws

AU0409121691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

["jop"-signed report: "European Style Taxes"]

[Text] In yesterday's session, the Federal Government dealt with key taxation system bills, the regulation of imports of certain agricultural products, a bill on the subsistence minimum, and other items of vital importance for the economic reform.

"Today marks the end of a very important stage," Ivan Kocarnik, deputy minister of finance, declared at a news conference after the session. The government discussed the final draft of the taxation system bill and the principles of three more tax bills: on the income tax, the value added tax, and the excise tax. "An accord was reached between the Federal Government ideas and those of the republic governments," I. Kocarnik said. The taxation system law plays a unifying role because it defines the type of taxes that can be imposed in the CSFR and the taxation period for the whole federation. Furthermore, I. Kocarnik reported that a regulation was included in the law that provides a legal basis for eradicatiing the "black" system (regular employment concealed as private business).

A single law on income tax will replace the taxes on wages, personal income, etc., and it will apply to both legal and physical entities. So far, it is not clear whether these legal norms would be distinguished (physical entities separately). Income tax returns will not have to be filed by citizens with (their only source of) income from employment, and a certain tax threshold will be set—i.e. no tax will be paid on income below this threshold.

The value added tax and the excise tax will replace the sales tax. Contrary to current practice, all merchandise and services will be subject to value added tax. The problem of the number of different tariffs of this new tax has not been settled yet (there is a single tariff in Denmark, for instance, and two to five different tariffs elsewhere in Europe).

The excise tax is, for various reasons, imposed by the state on consumption of various goods. In the CSFR, it will apply to five groups of products: hydrocarbon fuel and lubricants, spirits and distilled liquors, beer, wine, tobacco, and tobacco products. Responding to a HOSPODARSKE NOVINY question on whether the problem of where the excise tax would be collected was discussed, and also which republic would thereby receive payment (for example, would the gasoline tax be paid by the manufacturer or at the place of consumption), I. Kocarnik said: "It is one of the "easily solved" problems. It would not exist if the taxes were distributed according to the system currently used or an alternative system."

The Federal Government also approved regulatory measures on imports of certain agricultural products—the limit on potato import is 120,000 tonnes, starch and inulin 1,000 tonnes, rapeseed 25,000 tonnes, rape oil 11,000 tonnes, margarine 5,000 tonnes, glucose and glucose syrups 1,500 tonnes, molasses 60,000 tonnes, and fresh grape wine 80,000 hectoliters.

Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, reported on the discussion of the bill on the subsistence minimum. The bill considers the amounts necessary to cover food and other basic needs to be: 900 korunas per month for a child under six years of age, 1,000 korunas per month for a child aged six to 10, 1,200 korunas per month for a child aged 10 to 15, 1,300 korunas per month for young people without means of support aged 15 to 26, and 1,200 korunas per month for other citizens. This money is provided as a last resort, after consultations, job arrangement, etc. The minimum corresponds to 45 to 50 percent of average income and will be maintained at this level (i.e. indexed for inflation).

The statutes of the Federal Fund for Market Regulation and a report on an inspection into the transfer of the property of the former Socialist Youth Union were also passed at yesterday's session of the Federal Government. The final deadline for the transfer is 15 October 1991—with the exception of the Union's Zenitcenter, where the investigation continues.

Ministers Explain Airport Incident to Committees

LD0409204491 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The circumstances concerning the interference of special police units at Mosnov Airport were clarified today by Ministers Jan Langos and Lubos Dobrovsky before the Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly. As the federal minister of the interior said, the reporters' information mentioned about 60 kg of substances of military strategic significance to the value of about $20 million. It allegedly got to Czechoslovakia from the USSR, where it was allegedly stolen. The possibility of this substance being radioactive was not excluded either. CSFR Prosecutor General Ivan Gasparovic said in the committees that the higher military prosecution body has issued a decision to start criminal proceeding for the crime of public nuisance. He did not exclude the possiblity of suspicion of other criminal acts. According to Chief Military Prosecutor Miroslav Krizenecky, the military prosecution heard some 50 persons, and the investigations should reach their initial conclusions in about three weeks time.

VPN's Kucerak Denies Seeking Dubcek Ouster

AU3008184891 Prague CTK in English 1939 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 28 (CTK)— The Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, a member of the Slovak Government coalition, has never made an effort to replace Alexander Dubcek as Czechoslovak Federal

Assembly (parliament) chairman, VPN Slovak Council Chairman Jozef Kucerak said in a statement presented to CTK today.

He said the VPN will not change this attitude as long as Dubcek pushes through the principle of the Czechoslovak Federation.

The chairman of the Czechoslovak parliament's House of Nations, Milan Sutovec (VPN), has always supported the idea that Dubcek should remain in his post until the end of the parliament's term of office, Kucerak said. He was referring to Sutovec's recent criticism of Dubcek for calling a session of the Czechoslovak parliament Presidium to deal with the crisis in the Soviet Union as late as last Thursday.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 29 August on page 3 carries a 600-word interview with Milan Sutovec by Ivo Slavik entitled "I Do Not Have Personal Ambitions." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Sutovec denies that his critical remarks about Alexander Dubcek at the VPN briefing on 26 August were motivated by his ambition to replace Dubcek as Federal Assembly chairman: "I have never been interested in the post of Federal Assembly chairman and I am not interested in it even now," Sutovec says. He adds that he has no political ambitions at all and will "gladly return to my scientific work when the time is right."]

Slovak Efforts To Break Common State Criticized

AU0309135391 Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech 30 Aug 91 p 3

[Pavel Cernocky commentary: "An Elegant Breakup of the Republic"]

[Text] Since last fall, I have been firmly convinced that there are a number of plans for liquidating Czechoslovakia. Some of them were born on the American continent, some in Slovakia, and some further to the East.

While shortly after November [1989] only a small percentage of Slovaks were contemplating the establishment of an independent Slovak state, today it is likely that the majority of the Slovak population are seriously considering this idea. Public opinion has shifted under the concentrated propaganda inspired by ambitious Slovak politicians in the media. If citizens hear 10 times a day that independent Slovakia would be more advantageous, then it only is a question of time until they believe it.

However, there is one problem. For Slovakia, it would not be desirable to separate by Slovakia's own decision. Everyone realizes that the world would not accept it kindly. This is why a sort of "secret strategy" has been established in Slovakia, which all the political parties adopted, with the exception of the Public Against Violence movement. This strategy is not new. Before the war this strategy was called: Speak of peace, but prepare for war. Today this means: speak of the common state, but prepare for separation. Mr. Vladimir Meciar has brought this strategy to perfection.

Even what we see today emanates from Mr. Meciar's original strategy. It may be necessary to explain loudly according to which scenario Czechoslovakia is being liquidated. The number one task is to force the Czechs themselves to vote in a referendum against the further continuation of the common state. Then, they will be to blame and we, good Slovak politicians, will be exonerated. How can this be achieved? First of all, it is necessary to continuously increase demands, even demands that are nonsensical, and whose goal is to make the other side disgusted. Let us remember the calls for the division of the oil pipelines, the gas pipelines, the railway network, the electricity grid, and communications, or the calls for the establishment of two banks of issue. When the Czech side does not comply with a nonsensical demand, this serves as further proof of Prague's unwillingness to negotiate and its colonial behavior.

I am convinced that some time ago, when Mr. Meciar was continuously repeating that he was in favor of the common state, he did not mean it seriously. He simply realized that if he showed his cards he would have lost a great number of voters who wished something different. It seems funny to me that not only Slovaks, but also some Czech politicians and journalists, fell for his simple trick. Today, they blush over their naivete.

A great number of Slovak citizens are asking: Will we really be better off after Slovakia's separation? No, worse, of course, but the way back will be definitely closed. Then there is another question: Why are our politicians doing it at all? He who is able to imagine the difference between being the minister for international relations and being the foreign minister of an independent state is the only one who can understand that. Ask Mr. Knazko to explain that to you.

Of course, we are not expecting that these ideas will be applauded in Slovakia, where people are mostly on Meciar's side. I will be satisfied if the handful of people who have not lost their common sense pause and think without prejudice over what I have said.

Havel Discusses USSR, SFRY Events, Issues

LD0109171591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Stanisleva Dufkova at Lany presidential residence on 30 August: "Conversations at Lany"—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] [passage omitted] The putsch in the Soviet Union is over. What surprised you about it, and what do you think about the reactions of individual parties and movements in our country, Mr. President?

[Havel] As far as the putsch itself is concerned, I have an intensive feeling that it is something more than just an ordinary putsch that failed because its organizers were drunk, etc. It is a real landmark in the history of the Soviet Union, and in fact, in the history of mankind. I should say that the whole era of Gorbachev's perestroyka is in fact over, and a completely new era has begun. It is as if a prelude ended, and the first act of a big drama is beginning in which the nations of this vast empire are searching for their independence, for their new constitutional position, in which this entire society has embarked on the path of searching for a genuinely democratic political system and toward the transformation of economy, that is toward the same thing that we embarked on in November 1989.

[Dufkova] How did you like the statements issued by individual parties? [laughs]

[Havel] To tell the truth, I found it a bit ridiculous when immediately after the putsch had been defeated, after it had failed, an extensive search began for who said what and when during those two days, who damaged his reputation and who did not, who was a bit cautious, who was not cautious, etc. I was also amused by the sudden wave of radicalism, when many of those who, during those days were not heard very much, suddenly came up with many far-reaching proposals that they derived in some strange way from the lesson arising from the events in the Soviet Union. It was, I would say, such a typically Czechoslovak aftermath of events.

[Dufkova] A useless one!?

[Havel] Well, yes. I think that sometimes it was a bit comic. Nevertheless, the important thing is that everybody has understood, it seems, that something extremely important happened that has far-reaching significance for us, for the whole of Europe, for the whole world. Many things will be different now, and the whole process in the Soviet Union will still be very complex and very dramatic, and the reflection of the events in the whole of our society is, in my opinion, very important.

[Dufkova] So I suppose that you agree with Yelena Bonner, who said that Russia could still scare the world a lot. Can it?

[Havel] I am afraid that it can. But not in the way that, for long decades, it used to scare it: not by being a certain, powerful monolithic threat to the world that has at its disposal weapons with which it can destroy the whole world several times; not by being an expansionist empire that builds its new spheres of interest in the whole world, which carries out a ruthless, selfish policy that entangles the world in a network of its many secret services and dark deals, etc. As an imperial superpower, I think, the Soviet Union is not dangerous for the world anymore. Of course, certain dangers will still emanate from the Soviet Union since the whole arable space that the Soviet Union has occupied up to now, is in the process of a complete restructuring; it searches for its new shape, nations are searching for their nationhood. We do not know yet what shape the Soviet Union will have, whether it will be a loose commonwealth of independent states tied together merely by some agreements, some of them tighter, some of them looser, or whether it will be something else. We do not know what other local conflicts, what clashes of interests between the various nations and republics, can emerge. Development in the Soviet Union was uneven. Different regions have very different social positions. There are Muslim republics, there is the enormous Russia with its very specific traditions. The whole space will transform itself in a very dynamic way, and of course, many minor dangers can still be expected to come from there.

[Dufkova] The Soviet legislature suspended Communist Party activity on all Soviet territory, thus showing more courage than ours.

[Havel] Their situation should not be compared to our situation so mechanically. Our developments were different, were they not? In our country, in fact, under the pressure of growing problems, under the pressure of our public and public's will, the Communist Party itself decided to give up its power. Shorthand documents of roundtable talks which are being published by RUDE PRAVO testify to this. They clearly show one thing: The opposition concluded no agreements with the Communist Party behind closed doors about the course of events; overwhelming improvisation and surprise on both sides are clearly reflected in these documents.

The Communist Party in our country simply did not support any anticonstitutional putsch. The Communist Party in our country simply surrendered. It removed its totalitarian leadership and attempts to turn it into some kind of a Party of a social democratic type, doing so sometimes with more credibility and sometimes with less credibility. Of course, it is necessary to investigate—more thoroughly than was done so far—all the crimes committed in the era of the totalitarian regime, to look for the culprits, to allow justice to prevail. At the same time, I do not think there is any reason to ban the Communist Party in our country. It is a legislative Party with a rather big electorate.

I would say that in our country it was a bit the other way around than in the USSR. In our country, the democratic revolution took place right away, while there, in fact, no democratic revolution has taken place yet. There was an era of Gorbachev's perestroyka reforms, followed by a putsch by the totalitarian forces. Only since then has their democratic revolution been taking place. The sequence of events is a bit different, and that has brought about the special phenomenon that, in my view, we do not have any matter-of-fact reasons to ban the Communist Party, while in the USSR the reasons to ban it are very forcible.

I am unaware of any current activities of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Party of the Democratic Left in Slovakia that would represent a threat to democratic order in our country or that would constitute an

attack on it. If these parties get into a conflict with our laws and constitutional system, then they must be forced to comply with their responsibility as any other party or social force representing a threat to our state and its constitutional order would. For the time being, I am unaware of any reasons for doing so. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] There is the other problem, namely Yugoslavia, where a civil war is impending. How do you assess the situation there? Do you think there will be a civil war?

[Havel] The situation there is very alarming and serious. Many nationalistic wrongdoings, animosities, and disputes that were accumulating over history and were slumbering under the surface have suddenly burst out, prolapsed, come back to life. The solution will not be easy. I am afraid that a lot of human blood will be spilled there. In facing this situation, which can seriously destabilize relations in the whole of Europe, one again realizes the importance of the international security structures, links, and agreements. We can see today how the EC, the CSCE, and other international organizations are, in fact, helpless. Everybody knows that they must do something, that one cannot watch it just like that and wait until the Croats and Serbs slaughter each other. Everybody knows this, but, at the same time, they do not know how to do it. No mechanisms that would enable a really effective intervention of the international community have been created. I think we should understand it as an appeal—not just us, but mainly the Western democracies—as an appeal to accelerate creation of these structures.

[Dufkova] Do you have any idea about creating such structures?

[Havel] First, it appears that whatever happens anywhere on European soil affects Europe as a whole. It supports the idea of a fast creation of all-European security structures. Something has already happened in this matter on the soil of the Helsinki process, but it does not yet have the character of an agreement in the sense that, for instance, the breaching of one's obligations arising from agreements could be punished by imposing sanctions or something like that.

The North Atlantic alliance is an important—indeed, the most important—European security organization. This provides it with the challenge of pondering not only its own military doctrine—which it is, in fact, already doing—but also its own concept, its statute, to seek closer, probably treaty-based, ties with other European countries.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, do you think that developments in the USSR and the SFRY could influence CSFR relations? Is it, in fact, influencing them already?

[Havel] Naturally, it is influencing them. It is doing this in several ways, and I personally think that our main aim in this turbulent time, when the situation is open, is to contribute to stability in our area. This is why we are, for instance, continuing to intensify cooperation with Poland and Hungary, these three neighboring countries. This is an important zone in this part of Europe. It seems to me that we ought to pursue a prudent, rational policy, a policy that can head off such possible explosions of passions or various types of curt [zkratkovity] behavior because it has been shown that anything can be turned into a fuse and lead to an explosion, the extent of which is frequently not foreseen by the one who is playing with such a fuse. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] I would like to ask you something totally different. This week, it was possible to hear on our radio one morning that Vaclav Klaus is in favor of you holding the post of president in the next term. Were you pleased by his stand?

[Havel] Naturally, I was pleased by trust shown in me in such a public way and by such an important politician, though I am not so sure whether it is worth it. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Diensbier Visit to Spain

WA0409142391

For Prague CTK and Madrid Radio reportage on the visit by Jiri Dienstbier, foreign minister and deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia, to Spain, including reports on his talks with Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, please see the Spain section of the 4 September West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Government Opposes Soviet Economic Agreement

LD0409133191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Hungary will not conclude any agreement that will distance it from West European integration. This was the reaction in the Foreign Ministry to the statement by Ivan Silayev, acting Soviet head of government, that the former socialist countries could also join the economic agreement to be concluded by the Soviet Union's member republics. Silayev expressed the opinion that the former socialist countries had been integrated into the Soviet economy to at least as great an extent as the member republics themselves.

Official Reviews Talks With Slovenes, Croatians

LD0409110191 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0530 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Studio interview with Political State Secretary Geza Entz by unidentified reporter—live]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Our studio guest is Geza Entz, political state secretary dealing with the affairs of Hungarians living beyond our borders. Good morning. A few hours ago you were still conferring in Szeged, at the end of the prime minister's visit to Yugoslavia. We do not know very much about this meeting, which was held with Slovene and Croatian leaders. Could you tell us something about this?

[Entz] The prime minister briefed the representatives of the Croatian and Slovene governments about the results of the Subotica discussions. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] According to some reports, at this meeting in Szeged, with the Slovene and Croatian leadership, agreement was reached on 98 percent of the issues, but not, on two percent. What are these two percent?

[Entz] Well, it is very difficult to measure the percentages. Here it was not first and foremost the question of a debate but of a briefing, the expounding of the Hungarian standpoint. Naturally, the representatives of the Slovene and Croatian governments also made clear their own standpoints on the issue, their assessment of the situation. And we are well aware of the Slovene and Croatian efforts to obtain international recognition. There was no particular debate about this. Our standpoint is also entirely clear. In this issue, we wish to stand together with the European Community, with the international community, since—and this was also very important—power relations in Yugoslavia today are such that a real solution, a peaceful solution, a new kind of solution, can only be achieved by the internationalization of the issue, and, what is more, by an ever-expanding internationalization.

[Reporter] Yes. The other thing I wished to ask—Ante Markovic is a politician worthy of respect, but really, if we analyze or look at the Yugoslav crisis, then he,in fact, is playing a secondary role in events. Though he is prime minister, there is no doubt that the local leaders of the Serbs, the Croatians, and the Slovenes seem to be getting more publicity. Even so, the Hungarian head of government is the counterpart of the Yugoslav head of government; it was with him that he conferred. How far can we believe the promises that Ante Markovic made yesterday about the airspace violations and things that had earlier caused tensions? In other words, how much can he be master of the whole country?

[Entz] Well, this is the fundamental question. After all, it would be an obvious interest that in Yugoslavia, too, there should be a factor that is able to mediate between the opposing sides. And it goes without saying that the Yugoslav federal government should be the one to fill this role. The coming days will decide whether this is possible. In the present phase, the Yugoslav Government is the partner not only of the Hungarian Government, but also of the international parties, the international community. We would like if it could indeed enforce all these things—first and foremost the ceasefire and the disbanding of the opposing sides, above all the irregular forces. It is difficult to make predictions. Policies have to be decided on the basis of the facts.

[Reporter] Thank you for coming into the studio.

Horn on Possible Recognition

LD0509103291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, by unidentified correspondent; in the studio; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] In your opinion, when will it be possible to answer the question that has been raised recently with growing acuteness in connection with Croatia and Slovenia, or rather in connection with recognition of these countries? When can it be said: Yes, it is necessary to recognize the sovereignty of these two countries?

[Horn] I believe that there is no principled or political obstacle to recognition of these two republics. At the same time, as we told the Croatian and Slovenian foreign ministers, in our judgment everything must be subordinated to the interests of an immediate halt to the war. Thus, it is necessary to make recognition dependent on this. If the European Community recognizes the two republics, and if it is thereby possible to bring an end to the war, this must be done immediately .

At the same time, it must be noted that events and current reports indicate that the war, unfortunately, is continuing. It is spreading. Thus, I think that while respecting all that the European Community is doing, it is necessary to extend international collaboration, mainly in the form of specific action, including in the UN Security Council, by means of which it would possible to halt this tragic development, this tragedy that is taking place in Yugoslavia.

Somogyi Outlines Foreign Policy Trends, Issues

AU0409102691 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Aug 91 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "Hungary's New Place in Europe"]

[Excerpts] Ferenc Somogyi is confident that "Soviet development similar to that in Hungary will favorably affect Soviet-Hungarian relations, which continue to be very important for us, including the development of a new type of cooperation." About the Yugoslav crisis, Ferenc Somogyi said that "despite our extremely sensitive situation, we are ready to play a constructive role in the international efforts to find a solution."

[Pinter] The events in the Soviet Union continue to be in the focus of global political interests. How can we evaluate the events from the viewpoint of international relations and the viewpoint of Hungarian foreign policy?

[Somogyi] The failure of the conservative forces' coup attempt has proved that, although one cannot exclude the possibility of future serious crises, the basic elements of the democratic changes in the Soviet Union have become irreversible. The direction and content of future events will be mainly determined by the current reorganization of political forces but, in my opinion, the possibility of a radical development toward a change in the regime has increased considerably. This is a condition for the solution of the continuing economic crisis and ethnic problems. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you think that Yugoslavia is facing similar problems?

[Somogyi] Unfortunately, the crisis has increased for our southern neighbors. Efforts to forcefully change the internal borders, efforts that are threatening the stability of the entire region and the status quo in Europe, are particularly alarming. The situation of national minorities living in Yugoslavia is also alarming, including the Hungarians and the much more numerous Albanians. In my opinion, only a united and determined international position can force the opposing sides to come to an agreement on the era after the disintegration of the Yugoslav structure that has proved to be unviable, and to do this in a democratic way and by respecting the European norms and principles, the people's right for self-determination, including national minority rights. Hungary is directly interested in a quick solution to this crisis. Therefore, despite our extremely sensitive situation, we are ready to play a constructive role in international efforts aimed at solving this crisis. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] What are the issues that cause the most debates between the Foreign Ministry and the opposition?

[Somogyi] Although no really constructive debate has yet taken place on this issue, I think that our relations with neighboring countries is the most controversial issue. We seem to agree that the fate of this region cannot be separated from that of Europe: A solution to the main problems in this region is a condition for these countries' integration into Europe and for the spreading of positive European processes. At the same time, given the complexity of these problems, their historic roots, and their dependence on the internal development of individual countries, there can be no easy and quick solution to these problems. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do the severe domestic policy debates cause any trouble in the everyday practice of Hungarian diplomatic activity?

[Somogyi] In my view, these debates do not cause any trouble if they remain within the framework of European norms. It is a different matter if the debates exceed this rather broad framework and cause a feeling of political instability among our partners.

[Pinter] Could you give an example of a recent debate that caused trouble for Hungarian diplomacy?

[Somogyi] The affair of weapons sold to Yugoslavia was such an affair.

[Pinter] In your view, what lessons can be drawn from this affair?

[Somogyi] This affair also proves that we must consider every step thoroughly, by objectively examining the actual situation and weighing the possible consequences. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] What was the reaction to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's declaration that the U.S. presence in Europe is a guarantee for security in Europe?

[Somogyi] This declaration caused consternation when it emerged as an official Hungarian position at the Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow in June 1990. The composition of that audience explains this consternation.

[Pinter] I mean here primarily the strong reaction of the EC countries to Jozsef Antall's declarations at the conference of ambassadors.

[Somogyi] I do not think that his declarations caused a sensation here. It is a well known fact that Hungary's security policy concept attributes a great role to NATO and to the U.S. presence in the emerging new European structure. This does not mean that we question the importance of European integration, but we think that European cooperation can really be asserted through the active participation of the United States, rather than through its exclusion. Consequently, although we do not aspire to become members, we are striving for the strongest possible cooperation with NATO. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] One often hears that this cooperation is important because it fills the vacuum that has emerged in this region after the elimination of the Warsaw Pact. Do you think this is a reason?

[Somogyi] I question this concept's basis. This implies that the Warsaw Pact really served Hungary's security interests, and this is not true. The Warsaw Pact, including its often-mentioned internal "police" functions, worked exclusively on the basis of Soviet power interests. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] The opposition often criticizes the government because the undoubtedly useful high-level political meetings are not followed by a steady development of bilateral contacts. The development of Hungarian-German relations in recent months is a case in point.

[Somogyi] I do not think that this example is justified. At the same time, as a general observation, I accept the fact that more can be done to prepare high-level visits and make better use of the opportunities discovered during these visits. In my opinion, we could improve things by formulating and consequently implementing a uniform concept valid for a broad area, for example the economy, working out cooperation concepts based on bilateral demands and possibilities, and properly coordinating the activity of our domestic participants in Hungary's international relations.

[Pinter] Can one say that Germany is Hungary's major political and economic partner today, and for a long time to come?

[Somogyi] That is true concerning the economic indicators. However, in a broader aspect, I do not think that it is a good idea to establish various classifications. This would contradict our policy aimed at diversifying our former unilateral relations. For me, this is a much better approach than the one choosing between two things. On this occasion, I would separately mention Japan as one of our major partners, and our prime minister is due on an official visit there next week. [passage omitted]

Executive Amendments to Constitution Adopted

LD0409225291 Warsaw PAP in English 2227 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—The government adopted at its session which ended late Wednesday night the draft amendments to the Polish Constitution designed to strengthen the position of executive authorities in Poland. The government said this was necessary to ensure the security of the citizens and the state as well as the smooth and efficient reform process.

The government also decided to withdraw from the draft on special powers for the government recently submitted to the Sejm (lower house) regulations concerning the appointment and dismissal of cabinet members by Poland's president and include them in the draft amendments to the Constitution.

The adopted amendments need to be analysed and properly worded by law experts. The government will examine them on Saturday, September 7, the government press spokesman said.

Peasant Party Opposes Constitutional Changes

LD0409132691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The Supreme Executive Committee Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], together with the chairmen of the voivodship boards of this party, have at a meeting in Warsaw acknowledged as inadmissable the implementation of changes in the Constitution and also the granting of special powers to the government allowing for the carrying out of changes of a systemic nature in the state seven weeks before the first democratic general elections. Over and above that, the PSL Presidium states that the government initiative intends to block the rights of the future parliament to carry out its basic function, that is, the making of laws. It was earlier established that the constitution of the Republic will be adopted by the newly elected Sejm.

Balcerowicz Assesses Results of Moscow Trip

LD0409170591 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1515 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz by unidentified reporter at Warsaw airport upon return from Moscow on 4 September; recorded]

[Text] [Balcerowicz] Above all, we managed, at the highest possible level, to present problems that are incredibly important for us, namely how to counteract the sharp and radical collapse of Polish exports. As a result of these talks, I hope that more specific opportunities will emerge to solve that problem. We have created a working group for this purpose, which was (?less than) two weeks to define the possibilities to increase exports from Poland that could be financed by supplies from the Soviet Union or also financed in another manner, by hard currency.

I should also like to say, at the same time, that our expectations were not excessive, that we are dealing with a partner or partners who are in a state of extraordinary transformations and in a very difficult economic situation. Nonetheless, I think that the task of the government is to do everything possible for certain possibilities to arise to increase Poland's exports, in spite of those kinds of difficulties. That is very important, as we know, for our economy.

[Reporter] A group of experts is working; however, have you brought anything specific already?

[Balcerowicz] There were certain initial propositions, but they must be confirmed by our negotiators, and therefore, I would not like to give a final reply at the moment.

[Reporter] You have signed the first post-war agreement with one of the countries of the Soviet Union. Is that what the future of our economic relations is going to look like?

[Balcerowicz] I think that is very probable.

[Reporter] However, in the Soviet Union a [word indistinct] economic zone is being created, an economic union of the republics. What is that, and what is your attitude toward that?

[Balcerowicz] That is a very preliminary concept at the moment, to which we cannot have an attitude without any specifics, without the specifics being defined. However, with complete certainty [words indistinct] I declared readiness to take part in that kind of economic body.

[Reporter] How did your talk with Gorbachev look?

[Balcerowicz] It took place in a very good climate. President Gorbachev, with great goodwill and interest, spoke about the economic changes in Poland. On my part, I drew his attention to the fact that the fate of the radical transformations that we had undertaken and are implementing in Poland depends, to a great extent, on how quickly it is going to be possible to find solutions that could help us, even to a certain degree, to restore our export trade to the East.

[Reporter] What chances do you see for credits from the West, which in turn would credit our export?

[Balcerowicz] I think that is a very important matter. I myself—and not only me, but also representatives of other central East European governments—have taken up those kind of initiatives so that possible help by the West for Russia or the Soviet Union would at least be partly linked to the financing of supplies from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. I think this is extremely important, as it will be difficult to find possibilities for a

greater increase, acceleration of exports in a different manner in the present economic situation, both in Central and East European countries and to the east of our borders. It is, therefore, a very important issue, and I hope it will be quickly taken up by the West.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

Comments on Silayev Speech

LD0409184591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Report by Marek Kassa]

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz ended a three-day visit to Moscow with a meeting at the Kremlin with President Mikhail Gorbachev.

On board the plane back to Poland, our reporter, Marek Kassa, asked him to sum up the results of the talks. He said, among other things:

[Begin recording] [Balcerowicz] It is a good thing that the Polish delegation arrived here so soon, that is, two weeks after this putsch, because it has [word indistinct] a political dimension as regards relations with Russia, and we must hope that the favorable political climate that accompanied the visit will have favorable economic consequences, although from the start, we have to adopt the attitude... [changes thought] We must not have excessive expectations here because of the undoubtedly very difficult economic position of Russia and the whole of the Soviet Union.

From our point of view, the most important issue is probably the attempt to reverse the abrupt, downward trend in our exports to eastern markets. We know what serious consequences this has for us, and so, we put this matter to the highest levels, pointing out how important this is for economic processes in Poland. This met with understanding during our talks.

We [word indistinct] several working groups. One of these working groups, within the space of two weeks, is to define the possibilities for growth in Polish exports to the eastern market, such exports that would bring payment either this year or next year. Apart from this, I recognize the signing of the economic agreement between Poland and Russia as an important result of this visit, which defines the framework for future cooperation, [words indistinct] a point of departure for work on a multi-year agreement for the mutual supply of raw materials.

[Kassa] Mr. Prime Minister, unexpectedly, the greatest [words indistinct] during this visit went to the affair concerning the speech made by Prime Minister Silayev on the subject of Poland's possible entry into the economic union being formed in the Soviet Union. What do you think about this affair, sir?

[Balcerowicz] I categorically deny that I expressed interest in Poland's participation in this type of, anyway undefined, concept, or this type of undefined economic organism. Prime Minister Silayev, as you know, ladies and gentlemen, corrected this excerpt of his speech at a specially organized news conference. [end recording]

Advisory Committee Criticizes 'Passive' Foreign Policy

AU0309101391 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 29 Aug 91 p 1

[Wieslaw S. Debski report: "Judgment on Eastern Policy"]

[Text] Wednesday's meeting of the Presidential Advisory Committee was dominated by two revelations that caused a sensation. The first was provided by President Lech Walesa himself, who revealed that while the Moscow putsch was still in progress he had ordered a mobilization of the Army and an extension of service for those on the point of being released and sent home, and had appointed what he described as an "unconstitutional body." The president also said that as far as he was aware, the Soviet ambassador to Warsaw, Yuriy Kashlev, had been recalled. He also hinted that earlier on, attempts had been made to stop him from holding talks with Boris Yeltsin, but did not say who had made these attempts. The second sensation was provided by Zdzislaw Najder and Jan Parys, who delivered speeches attacking Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski's foreign policy, particularly its eastern component.

Apart from the president and invited experts, the Advisory Committee meeting was attended by numerous journalists, who witnessed the attack on Polish foreign policy, including the Foreign Ministry, though the work of the Belvedere itself did not escape criticism either.

"Our country's international conduct over the past two years has been passive and ambiguous," said Zdzislaw Najder. "Poland has been the subject, not the object, of international relations. Even the treaty with Germany, usually shown as a success of Polish diplomacy, is in fact a Polish defeat."

Najder and Parys both said that Poland is too timid toward the USSR and afraid that its policies might cause a reaction in Moscow. Najder called this a continuation of the old "client-type policy." Najder and Parys said that society has been duped and its sensitivity dulled.

Many examples were quoted to illustrate Polish diplomacy's delayed reactions, e.g. to Lithuanian independence. It was said that if Poland had recognized Lithuania's independence earlier, the very events we are witnessing now would also have occurred earlier. Another example is the talks on the Soviet pullout from Poland. Parys has been one of Poland's chief negotiators on this subject, and, together with his fellow negotiators, has always assured society of continuing progress in this topic, despite doubts expressed by TRYBUNA, among others. But this time Parys said: "I fear Poland might agree to the last Soviet soldier leaving this country no

sooner than 1994. Instead of compromise, we are heading toward unilateral concessions."

"The USSR crisis has once again revealed our state's serious weaknesses," Parys continued. "The decision-making ability of some people has been paralyzed, with the result that the activity of the bodies under their supervision is also paralyzed."

The conference not only expressed criticism, but also made proposals. Najder said: "We need independent and bold thinking. We need to concern ourselves with the welfare of the nation. We must recognize the independence of the Ukraine." Parys said: "We must consider whether cutting the national defense budget is the correct thing to do. Also, the changes inside the Army must be speeded up."

Throughout this unusual exchange of views, the greatest common sense was displayed by President Walesa, who tried to convince his aides that in politics, it is not just desires that count, but also possibilities. "Our desires and our possibilities are two entirely different matters," he said. "Perhaps Mr. Najder could do things better, but I am president, and I do what is possible."

"Let us not use this meeting as an opportunity for accusations, but as an opportunity to examine what is happening in the world," appealed Walesa, but his appeal went unheard.

Najder Policy Views Reported

AU0309073491 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Aug 91 p 2

[Stanislaw Grzymski report: "Polish Conclusions From The USSR Crisis"]

[Text] "What is the situation with Poland's eastern policy and security regarding the crisis in the USSR?" We put this question to Zdzislaw Najder, chairman of the National Citizens' Committee. Here is his reply:

"Without going back too far in time—1989, the year of the formation of the Solidarity government is enough—one can say that our foreign policy, especially its eastern component, has been too passive. We have reacted to events either much too late or not at all. Moreover, we have not initiated any processes.

"The unsuccessful putsch has exposed an absence of ideas in our eastern policy on how to behave toward the USSR and how to react to its disintegration, decommunization, and the appearance of independent republics. We have been very late in reacting to all this, and our reaction has been uncoordinated. We have acted very cautiously. I do not mean the government, I mean Poland as a whole. On the one hand, we have been saying one must not provoke the bear, or he will be angry, and on the other hand, we have been saying that there is no problem with the bear and everything is fine.

"Because we are economically and politically weak, the only way we can compete with other countries is by reacting to events quickly. But that has never happened, with the result that politically, Poland is virtually nonexistent east of the Bug River. Chances have been wasted, and we have neglected the Poles on the other side of that river. I find the most glaring example to be Belorussia. For Belorussia, we are the only window to Europe, and if we do not help the Belorussians find a place for themselves in the new world situation, who will?

"As far as Lithuania and the Ukraine are concerned, more and more countries are establishing contacts with them every day. Even Hungary has done so before us, to say nothing of Germany. Countries with a higher economic potential can beat us here, but there is one trump card that we hold—proximity.

"Nothing much has happened since Minister Skubiszewski's visit to the Ukraine last year, even though the Ukraine is very important for us. Therefore, a vacuum has arisen, as a result of which our mutual relations are actually worse than before. The Ukrainians have brushed us aside, as it were. Where are our diplomats? They should have packed their bags by now. Where are our ambassadors? The Danes have already sent their ambassadors. The Ukraine is waiting for our reaction.

"We really have no eastern policy. In the east, our ambiguity and indecisiveness are being construed as a deliberate cynical strategy. We are suspected of implementing treacherous delaying tactics or waiting for the situation to settle down so that we can draw maximum benefits from it. This is also causing us economic losses because if we had had political and economic contacts with these countries sooner, we would be in a better position to take advantage of the possibilities of economic cooperation, which already exist.

"As far as our security is concerned, we have only seen to it from the inside. After all, we still have a postcommunist Parliament, an unreformed Army, insufficiently reformed internal forces, an unreformed military counterintelligence, and Soviet Army units on our soil. We ourselves have let the Soviet Army stay in Poland because we agreed that its presence would act as a defensive and stabilizing factor. Yes, it was our idea, not the Soviets'. Fortunately, the putsch has ended well for us, but for a few days we were in mortal danger.

"The moment of danger has passed, but we do not know what comes next."

Party Leaders View 'Eastern', Security Policies

AU0309073091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Statements by Piotr Nowina-Konopka, general secretary of the Democratic Union, and Jacek Maziarski, chairman of the Center Accord; place and date not given: "Polish Conclusions Concerning the Crisis"]

[Excerpt] In connection with the crisis in the USSR, RZECZPOSPOLITA turned to several politicians representing various groups and asked them about their attitude toward the following two issues:

1. The absence of a Polish eastern policy.

2. Whether Poland's security is in a vacuum.

Piotr Nowina-Konopka (general secretary of the Democratic Union): "I agree that for some time, especially over the past few months, there has been indecision in Poland's eastern policy. However, this applies more to actions themselves than to general plans concerning our attitude toward the USSR, which was defined at an early stage of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's period in government.

"The failures must be said to include the long-term stalemate in negotiations on the problem of the Soviet Army's withdrawal from Poland, which entailed additional difficulties for taking political initiatives directed toward the east.

"It can be said that we did not act intensively enough within the framework of a general two-track policy; that is, we failed to enhance political relations with the Baltic republics, Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Finally, a concept for economic policy toward the USSR market has not been formulated thus far, although it is clear that the task is not a straightforward one.

"The second question is expressed in a confusing manner. It appears to imply that when we were a satellite of the USSR, our security did not exist in a vacuum. The change in Europe's geopolitical architecture—beginning with the first steps aimed at dismantling the Warsaw Pact—means that Poland's security also has to be redefined. It is basically founded on the general security system, that is, within the framework of an institution such as the CSCE and indirectly of NATO. However, the putsch in the USSR has shown how great the need for real security is for Poland and the other countries emerging from the old Soviet bloc and for a general European security system that has been redefined. I think that this truth has now become more evident to politicians and public opinion in the West and that in this way, paradoxically, the putsch in the USSR has accelerated the process of building European security."

Jacek Maziarski (chairman of the Center Accord): "The democratic events in the USSR have shown how very necessary a complete rejection of the remnants of the communist system is. The retention of communist structures and influence has exposed Poland to a new danger. To avoid such a danger, it is necessary to abandon the "wiping the slate clean" policy in the state apparatus, the military, the Justice Ministry, and other areas of key importance for our country. There also has to be a change in the priorities of Polish foreign policy, as our country has found itself situated between the Soviet empire, which is falling apart, and the structures of Western Europe, which could actually guarantee our security.

"In talking about eastern policy, we should definitely maintain good relations with what remains of the empire, that is, the Moscow center, as well as with the independent republics, not to mention granting them full recognition. We do not see any contradiction in this. Newly established states such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and what constitutes the legacy of the empire, all have a right to good relations. One mistake we made in our policy was the indecisiveness or even reluctance that we displayed regarding the withdrawal of Soviet forces. If we had shown greater determination or farsightedness, we might have found ourselves in a similar situation to Hungary today. The other mistake was ambiguity in our policy: On the one hand, we were active in the West, and on the other hand, we had S. Ciosek as Poland's ambassador in Moscow.

"The issue of our security must be viewed within the context of a Europe that is in the process of uniting. It is illusory to maintain that Poland could create some kind of security guarantees that exclude much greater powers. The East, which is itself dominated by various conflicts and tensions, cannot guarantee us security. The one direction in which we can find our security is in the West's defense structures. A factor that could reduce tensions in the East is a friendly policy toward our neighbors." [passage omitted]

Reportage on Skubiszewski's Visit to West Europe

WA0509105991

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to the Netherlands and Switzerland, including reports on his talks with Netherlands Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, Queen Beatrix, and Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, see the Other Countries and Switzerland sections of the 4 September West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Chebeleu Denies Arms Deliveries to Yugoslavia

AU0409142691 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] In his weekly news conference, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, welcomed the acceptance by the SFRY Presidium and Federal Government of the declaration on Yugoslavia adopted by the EEC extraordinary ministerial meeting. Given the specific circumstances surrounding the evolution of the Yugoslav crisis—the Foreign Ministry spokesman said—the foreign partners can make a contribution to facilitating a negotiated settlement. In this respect, one welcomes the EEC and CSCE efforts, whose success will depend on an end to the fighting.

In his statement, the Foreign Ministry spokesman also said that, in view of the unambiguous position of the Romanian Government concerning the Yugoslav crisis, it is hard to understand the suspicion nurtured by certain Yugoslav newspapers, which speculate on alleged illegal Romanian sales of armaments to that country, on the alleged participation of Romanian mercenaries in the fighting in Croatia, and on such acts as the recent incident in which a Romanian civil airliner was forced to land in Zagreb by Yugoslav military planes under suspicion of carrying firearms.

The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concluded his statement as follows:

[Begin Chebeleu recording] I am empowered to reiterate today that, in accordance with its policy of not becoming involved in international conflicts—particularly of not delivering or transfering arms, ammunition, and military technology—and to prevent any kind of actions that might jeopardize the good relations between Romania and Yugoslavia, including the relations with the member republics, the Romanian Government forbids any kind of export or delivery of arms, ammunition, and military technology to Yugoslavia's federal authorities or member republics and to any Yugoslav individuals and corporate bodies. Our position regarding the Yugoslav crisis continues to rely on observance of every people's right to self-determination and on the conviction that it is possible for the peoples to fully exert this right within a state structure agreed upon through negotiations, which can maintain Yugoslavian unity and territorial integrity. [end recording]

Senate Discusses Articles of Civic Rallies Bill

AU0409120491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1107 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/9/1991—Romania's Senate resumed its proceedings in the morning of September 4 with debates on the last 15 articles of the Civic Rallies Bill.

Yesterday the Senate debated and endorsed the articles regarding the notification and authorization in advance of civic rallies as well as the obligation of organizers and participants in these rallies. The law bans civic rallies pursuing: propagation of totalitarian ideas of fascist, communist, fascist, chauvinistic or terrorist-diversionist nature; organization of a coup or any other action running counter to national security; infringement on public order, security or morals, on civic rights and liberties or endangering of citizens' health.

Unions Say Government at Fault for Failed Reforms

AU0409120791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0959 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/9/1991—In a communique sent to ROMPRES the Independent Trade Union Confederation "Fratia" states that negotiations on the signing of a possible social agreement between the government and the unions cannot start unless the following conditions are met: the banning of the Socialist Labor Party, of the Romanian Communist Party and of the organizations backing them; the amendment of the law on wage indexation, an equitable solution to the question regarding the property of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania (the former National Union Confederation).

In their turn the "Alfa", "15 Noiembrie", "Fides" and "Star" Union Confederations consider "the government as solely responsible for the further degradation of the national capital, the perpetuation of centralism under sophisticated forms, the discreditation of the idea of reform and leniency towards extremist political structures that want to take advantage of the situation created."

Likewise, in the opinion of the aforementioned union confederations "the government is responsible for the lack of laws sanctioning, among other things, the basic right to property, to free initiative at the level of the entire economy."

These stands were expressed after the Tuesday, September 3, meeting between the prime minister and T.U. representatives.

Charter for Reform Calls For Communist Party Ban

AU0409181991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1611 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/9/1991—The parties signatory to the Charter for Reform and Democracy—the National Salvation Front [FSN], the Ecological Movement of Romania, the Agrarian Democratic Party and the Liberal Party-Young Wing—have released the following communique:

"The last decade of the 20th century has witnessed the economic, political and ideological failure of communism in the world and, implicitly, in Romania.

"There is no way of return from the road to democracy and reform the Romanian people has embarked on. For this goal to be attained, however, any possibility that leftist and rightist extremist forces, seizing on the difficulties of the transitional period, could attempt the restoration of totalitarianism in Romania must be nipped in the bud.

"The time has come to definitely put an end to resurrecting totalitarian doctrines, fascist and communist, for they have fully proved their criminal harmfulness nation- and worldwide. They must be stopped before they make new victims. That is why the parties that initiated and signed the Charter for Reform and Democracy, request the law bodies to inquire into the legality of the establishment and operation of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party of Labour, or of any other political organisation whose ideology and activities spring from communist or fascist doctrines."

At the same time, the document requests Parliament to adopt a special law banning all extremist activities of any party, which, by its ideology or practice aims at undermining political pluralism, the values of the state of law and of democracy.

In the same line, the parties signatory to the Charter deem that the commandment of the present political moment is the union of all this country's forces to overcome economic stagnation and social tension.

Article Assesses Status of Political Parties

AU0409122691 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 22 Aug 91 p 5

[Victor Iancu article: "Is There a Danger of a State Coup?"]

[Excerpts] I can answer from the very beginning: In a country with serious food shortages, uncontrolled prices, a disastrous economy, corruption in politics, conflicts between ethnic groups and religious denominations, well, in such a country there is always the danger of a military coup. Later, this coup generally turns out to be a little less "military," disclosing its political objectives that always are essentially totalitarian. Let us not forget that almost always, all "classical" totalitarian regimes were established under such circumstances (Lenin called them "revolutionary situations"): the bolshevism of Lenin and Trotskiy in Petrograd in 1917; the authoritarian regime of Admiral Horthy in Hungary in 1920; Mussolini's fascism in 1922; and the dictatorship of former "young Turks" headed by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) in 1923. Even Hitler's national socialism won in a situation of political and economic chaos (1933). After the war we might mention: Fidel Castro in Cuba (1959), Augusto Pinochet in Chile (1973), the dictatorship of "colonels" in Greece (1967). The final example is the coup in Moscow.

What real danger can appear for Romania in the following months? Intensification of the economic chaos, and particularly the escalation of prices, can bring people to the threshold of desperation. The continuation of the process of sowing hatred among various social, ethnic, and religious groups and the manipulation of consciences can be fatal for democracy (for the little democracy there is). People might completely lose confidence in democratic institutions (parliament, political parties, independent court of justice, free press, and others) and might ask for order and authority ("quiet" they already have). Then, inevitably the savior of the homeland appears. (We have premises: The ruling party is called the National Salvation Front). Who could this savior be? It is difficult to say. Considering that I personally have been the target of dirty attacks of the extremist press and some representatives of the "Vatra Romaneasca," I should have enough reason to say that the "savior" is hiding among the compact ranks of the Vatra Romaneasca and the Party of National Unity of Romanians [PUNR]. I am not doing so, and maybe I am mistaken. [passage omitted]

What is the current situation? The Romanian political picture in 1991 is quite complicated. If we were to place in a line, from the left to the right, the major Romanian political parties and groups, I think that we could obtain the following picture: the Socialist Party of Labor, the Socialist Democratic Party [the PSD], the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR], the National Salvation Front [FSN], the Romanian Ecological Movement [MER], The Romanian Ecological Party [PER], the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR] (I am leaving aside various social democratic groupings), the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [PNT-cd], the National Liberal Party [PNL], the Party of National Unity of Romanians, and the Romania Mare Party [PRM].

Trying to mark them in a way that is as close as possible to the truth, we will say that the first one among the above-mentioned parties belongs to the extreme left and the last one to the extreme right wing. Thus, both of them are totalitarian parties. Returning to an idea that has been previously expressed, I am going to mention that when we talk about extremes, the labels left or right wing do not mean much. The Ceausescu regime was a sad example in this respect. Furthermore, the PSD, PDAR, and the FSN believe that they could be called left-wing parties, while the following four parties, the MER, PER, PSDR, and PNT-cd, are center-right parties. The PNL would be center-right and the PUNR right wing.

Thus, the danger of totalitarianism comes from the extremes: the PSD and the PRM. These are the only political forces that by their very nature cannot stand democracy, and thus, their diversionist character cannot be doubted. In case of tough fight for power, the two extremes could be joined by groups that belong to "neighboring" parties (left or right-wing parties).

What will happen in our country? Can we expect a confrontation of forces in the next couple of months? Unfortunately, yes. In the same open way, I will answer the question of whether we are able to stop the establishment of a totalitarian regime in Romania or not. Yes, we are. However, we cannot do so by preserving the hybrid (totalitarian-democratic) regime of today, but by vigorously opting for democracy and for the unity of all healthy forces of our nation.

Political Groups' Reaction to Moscow Coup Viewed

AU0409104391 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 26-27 Aug 91 p 1

[Octavian Andronic article: "Political Poker"]

[Text] The fact that the political reaction to the shocking news that arrived on 19 August from Moscow was not characterized by promptness and determination should not surprise anyone. This is so because emotion is not part of the diplomatic package that needs to weigh both the factual events and also reactions that involve not only people but governments, political groups, and social-cultural entities. The variety of reactions that the coup attempt generated in Romanian society can be considered one of the most complex, because of the complex geopolitical realities, our energy dependence, and last but not the least, the development of the complex situation beyond the Prut River. Although authorized sources recall the existence of signals that reached the highest levels at least 48 hours before the coup, our leadership needed another 24 hours to state its position and attitude. Certain political groups, among them—for different reasons—the Civic Alliance and the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [PNT-cd] were somehow quicker. Within this poker game, in which N. Manolescu [Civic Alliance leader] scored a devastating advance, the Civic Alliance stated its definite position and, taking everything that was at stake—the notion of democracy itself—into consideration, played courageously and honestly the card (a card that it actually "got" a little late) while its presumptive ally during the electoral campaign, the PNT-cd "threw" its cards in a lamentable way that showed fear and uncertainty. Other groups decided not to take any more cards during this round, waiting for better cards, while the player who was the most interested in the stakes and the consequences of the game—we could mention the Socialist Labor Party [PSM]—chose the role of kibitzer! Certainly, the attitude of one or another party could not have influenced the course of events, which were advancing at an amazing speed in Red Square. At the most, it could have influenced the course of our domestic politics through the credibility that it inspires to those who claim or are prepared to claim a certain political line in the electoral campaign that was triggered prematurely and unexpectedly by the events that had taken place in the neighboring country. From this point of view, we must admit that the Civic Alliance will start with an advantage that the conclusion of its recent summit, that is the need for democratic actions, will certainly strengthen.

The PNT-cd, which until yesterday was a declared promoter of shifting the political dispute from the framework of the Parliament to the street, according to the declarations of its leaders, through the televised declaration of its general secretary, Mr. Lup, suddenly cut another of its communication bridges with an increasingly distanced electorate, because of its constant promotion of a nonconstructive policy. It is interesting that these contradictory courses are manifested within the framework of a so-called electoral cartel (the Civic Alliance Party-PNT-cd) which hoped to create a counterweight to the National Salvation Front, both at the "local" elections this fall, but mostly at the "general" elections next year.

Another loser in this game is no doubt the PSM, whose members exulted when they heard the first news from the Eastern front; for this party, the failure of the coup is coupled with its guilty expectancy or with the suspicious "no comment" attitude manifested throughout the event.

Certainly, there is one question that remains: What has the National Salvation Front gained from this whole affair? Although a little late, the reaction of its leaders was in accordance with the so-called general attitude of rejection; however, this came before the events in Moscow took the turn that we are all familiar with by now. Certainly, the initial hesitations can be explained through the delicate situation of Bessarabia; however, one cannot exclude the possibility of regaining the lost start in an act that is added to the general recession caused by the painful advance of the reform. What remains and what is important is precisely the momentary value of the truth and the essential test of the moral support found in the doctrine that the quake in Moscow generated in our political field, an event which, no doubt, the electorate will take into account.

Federal

Presidency Proposal for Country's Future Reported

AU0409180991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The SFRY Presidency Commission for the Preparation of a Draft Political Agreement on Yugoslavia's future has handed to the SFRY Presidency the text of this document. The commission consisted of Vasil Tupurkovski [SFRY Presidency member from Macedonia], Janez Drnovsek [Slovene representative in the SFRY Presidency], and Borisav Jovic [SFRY Presidency member from Serbia]. The proposal will be examined at the next expanded session of the SFRY Presidency. The text of the agreement says the following:

The SFRY Presidency and the SFRY Assembly, presidents of the republics, and presidents of the republican assemblies, have decided to conclude a political agreement on the future of the Yugoslav community, wishing to achieve:

—A peaceful and democratic solution to the state, legal, and political crisis in Yugoslavia;

—The acknowledgment and protection of the interests of the Yugoslav nations and their republics;

—Efficient implementation of the mutual and special interests of all citizens in a manner that will be legitimately established by the Yugoslav nations;

—Creation of the political and legal conditions in which each nation would be allowed to freely decide whether to remain in the federal and democratically transformed community, or to create its own sovereign and independent state, including the possibility of forming alliances and associations of such states.

—The securing of the mutual integration, friendship, and equal cooperation in the interest of all Yugoslav nations, regardless of the state and legal status they opt for;

—Openness toward the world and successful integration in civilizing and integrational trends, as well as scientific and technological development.

Generally accepted rules of international law will be observed in the process of achieving these goals and the international obligations will be taken over.

(?The subject) of the political agreements on Yugoslavia's future envisages the transformation of the Yugoslav community. The participants in the agreement accept that the community will be transformed into a form of state organization of the Yugoslav nations and citizens that will correspond to their politically expressed will and national interests.

Departing from the aforementioned principles and interests expressed, Yugoslavia will be transformed into a federal community consisting of those republics that have decided for a democratic federation of equal citizens, nations, and their republics, and autonomous and sovereign states.

All those state communities, or merely some of them, could form a confederal union, that is to say, a union of sovereign states. Such a transformation will be preceded—in the SFRY Assembly and the Chamber of Republics—by the consentaneous establishment of the procedure for the realization of the rights of a nation on self- determination including mutual border allocation, by adopting a constitutional law and a law on border allocation by which the following matters would be established: the procedure for choosing state and legal status, the manner of setting the criterion for establishing mutual rights and obligations including the separation and settlement of final accounts [deobni bilans], as well as the establishment of the duration of the transitional period.

The parties in the agreement agreed that, after realizing the new state and legal organization of nations and citizens, a procedure be initiated for regulating mutual relations in the spheres of mutual interest—the economy, human rights, defense, foreign affairs, and in other spheres.

The constitutional law will be adopted by 31 October and the law on border allocation by 31 December 1991. The proposal of the political agreement on Yugoslavia's future states that the Federal Executive Council is responsible for supplying draft decrees to the SFRY Assembly on time.

In accordance with their chosen status and state form, the republics will independently, or in agreement with other interested republics, carry out the necessary preparations and adopt new constitutions, or adopt a proposal for a confederal pact, adhering to the deadlines imposed by the Constitutional Law by which the present Yugoslav community will transform itself into new independent and sovereign states.

The SFRY Presidency, by consulting the representatives of the republics, will form a commission that will monitor the realization of this agreement and will establish the program of activities and measures for its implementation.

Until this agreement is implemented the functioning of the economic and political system will be secured on the basis of an agreement that will be concluded by the representatives of the governments of the republics and the responsible federal organs in the period of the agreed moratorium, upon the proposal of the Federal Government.

This proposal on the political agreement on Yugoslavia's future, which was drawn by the commission of the SFRY Presidency consisting of Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, Janez Drnovsek, and Borisav Jovic, was submitted to the SFRY Presidency, and the text of the proposal will be examined at the next expanded session of the SFRY Presidency.

Further on Draft

LD0409155191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 4 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will be transformed into a community of federal republics which [words indistinct] and independent sovereign states of republics which choose this form of state organization.

This is set out in a draft political agreement on Yugoslavia's future submitted to the Federal State Presidency today by a commission made up of three state Presidency members - from Macedonia, Vasil Tupurkovski, Slovenia, Janez Drnovsek, and Serbia, Borisav Jovic.

Under the proposal, the peoples of Yugoslavia would freely decide whether they want to remain in a federal, democratically transformed community or form their own sovereign and independent states, with the possibility of forming an alliance of these independent states.

The draft political agreement does not exclude the possibility of changes of internal and external borders, but the guiding principle is that borders cannot be changed through unilateral acts and by force.

In case of changes of internal and external borders, "it will be done on the basis of rights of people to self-determination through democratic procedure and in a legal manner", says the draft proposal.

It envisages the passing of a constitutional law by October 31, which would regulate the procedure for the realization of rights of nations to self-determination and a law on mutual demarcation by December 31, 1991.

An explanation of the draft political agreement recalls that according to the so far expressed interests, Slovenia, Croatia and possibly Macedonia want to form independent and sovereign states, while Serbia, Montenegro and Serbs living outside Serbia want to continue living in a common state. The republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina "does not have a unanimous stand of all nations living within it". Its population is 44 percent Muslim, 31 percent Serbian and 17 percent Croatian.

A political agreement on Yugoslavia's future should be adopted by the federal parliament, the State Presidency, the presidents of the six Yugoslav republics and the presidents of republican parliaments.

Kostic Outlines Objections Toward EC Agreement

AU0309211891 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 3 Sep 91

["Excerpt from interview" with Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, "exclusively" for Belgrade Television "Dnevnik 2" newscast; date and place not given—recorded]

[Kostic] Well, I have several objections about the agreement. One of them, about which I was fairly skeptical from the very beginning, is the question of the agreement's signatories. In our cease-fire agreement adopted by the SFRY Presidency we accepted, even if only tacitly, the state of affairs together with the Croatian authorities. This state of affairs is that there are two sides involved in the conflict. Croatian armed formations on one side, and an armed Serbian nation in this area on the other side. In the activities that we carried out as a state commission we gathered the representatives of both sides, sat down with them, talked with them, and so forth.

The responsible representatives of the Serbian nation in Croatia are excluded from this document as a signatory of such a document. Their signatures would have, on one side, provided the most firm guarantees that the cease-fire will be obeyed, and on the other side, would have guaranteed the safety of the EC mission's observers.

My other major objection, which I even tried to suggest at the session of the SFRY Presidency and during the break of the SFRY Presidency session to Mr. Van den Broek, concerned the regulations regarding disarmament of the paramilitary formations, the reduction of these armed formations, and so forth. This regulation is formulated very imprecisely. Therefore, I tried to suggest during the break of the SFRY Presidency session to Mr. Van den Broek that nothing should be changed in the text of the agreement, but merely that another sentence be added stating that the police formations will be brought to the peacetime level of 30 January 1991. In other words, we should not discuss what are the police troops and what are the National Guard Corps, but we should make it clear and undisputable that in the process of demobilization and disarmament Croatia's armed formations are going to be reduced from the current number of nearly 100,000 members to the approximately 16,000 members that they had in January 1991.

As you can see, this was signed, signed by everyone, including the EC, but the clashes continue. One can say that we have more killed and wounded persons today than we had before signing this document. However, signing these documents while the political will to cease war activities is lacking on both sides will yield no results.

Presidency Member Discusses Political Agreement

AU0409201291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Interview with Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency and member of the SFRY Presidency Commission for the Preparation of a Draft Political Agreement on Yugoslavia's Future, by Spomenka Jovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Borisav Jovic] Our commission has proceeded from the fact that, objectively speaking, it is impossible

at this moment to propose a kind of denouement of the Yugoslav political crisis on the basis of a universal recipe that would apply to everybody, and particularly not a recipe that we would propose. A political agreement should mean recognizing the interests and wishes of all peoples and all republics and give a constitutional opportunity for these wishes to come true.

Therefore, the essence of this agreement is very simple and very realistic: adopting... [Jovic corrects himself] establishing a constitutional procedure for realizing these wishes and setting deadlines by which these republics, that is, these peoples, will decide their own fates and find constitutional solutions for their own futures. What remains is a political agreement on some issues of coexistence, if there is the desire to do so. This can be an agreement on some issues or a form of joint state functions. This is, therefore, left for the second stage for which those parties that are interested will prepare a concept and proffer it, and it will be joined by those parties who want to do so.

[Spomenka Jovic] Can this agreement be a basis for the talks in The Hague, and to what extent will that be possible?

[Borisav Jovic] I cannot say to what extent this draft agreement will be a basis for the talks in The Hague, since it has still not been adopted by the SFRY Presidency, because the Presidency has still not had a session with the republic presidents. This is only a result of the commission's work. An essential question, an essential thing that one has to keep in mind, however, is that Europe is expecting us to solve our own problems. They will help us as much as they can on controversial questions. If this is so, and it is realistic to say that only we can solve our problems, then every concept acceptable to us is certainly also acceptable to Europe and is certainly a good basis for this conference as well. After all, this conference will be based on what is being achieved through consensus done in Yugoslavia.

[Spomenka Jovic] Thank you very much.

[Borisav Jovic] You are welcome.

Zagreb Airport Reopens, Reported Safe

LD0509131191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council Information Secretariat revealed today that the chances of air transport being normalized at Zagreb airport have increased. Dragan Lahovski, director general of Zagreb Airport, informed domestic and foreign air lines that the airport has been reopened and is now safe. In doing so, he revoked an earlier warning about the alleged closure of the airport. The federal secretary for transport and communications has also been informed about this.

Defense Secretariat: Croatia Violated Cease-Fire

LD0509141291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—At 1215 today, Croatian Interior Ministry and National Guard Corps forces flagrantly violated the cease-fire agreement when they carried out gun and mortar attacks from three directions on the barracks in Vukovar and on a Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] unit near the village of Bogdanovci, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense Information Office has announced.

The YPA units did not return fire immediately, in the expectation that it would stop soon. Only after repeated attacks by Croatian armed units did the Army return fire at 1300.

At 1340, the Croatian National Guard Corps and the Interior Ministry forces opened sniper fire on the barracks in Osijek.

This is yet further evidence that the forces of the National Guard Corps and the Croatian Interior Ministry have been violating the cease-fire agreement of 2 September, the statement says.

Army Denies Possession of Poison Gas

LD0409185591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] [no dateline as received] (TANJUG)—Regarding a statement made by the executive committee of the Slovene Greens saying that "on the occasion of the transfer of facilities to the Slovene territorial defence, the Yugoslav Army handed over large warehouses with poison gas and other materials threatening the environment," the information of the Ljubljana Corps today stressed that "army units and warehouses have never had poison gas."

The statement of the information service explains that the Yugoslav Army has substances for removing the consequences of poison gas [words indistinct] and teaching equipment (substances imitating poison gas and their effects). These and other substances are in warehouses and are being guarded in line with strict regulations and belong to reserve units, so they are removed together with the units. [words indistinct] is being transferred or sold to organizations qualified to handle these substances, the statement adds.

General Sets Conditions for Army Return to Barracks

LD0409174291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1607 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 4 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) will withdraw to barracks when all paramilitary formations in the country are disarmed, said Major General and Assistant Commander of the Fifth Army District Milan Aksentijevic today.

This is provided by the ceasefire agreement which was signed last Monday by the representatives of all the Yugoslav Federal and Republican authorities at the European Community's (E.C.) request, Aksentijevic told a press conference held in the Fifth Army District command in Zagreb today.

Major General Aksentijevic accused the Republic of Croatia of violating the ceasefire by using the 'Slovenian scenario,' because, as he said, the JNA has the greatest number of casualties 'precisely during ceasefires.'

Military organs announced yesterday that since the signing of the ceasefire agreement, four soldiers had been killed and 12 wounded.

As examples of violating the ceasefire agreement, Major General Aksentijevic cited attacks by Croatian armed forces on two JNA garrisons in Petrinja which took place on Monday, and yesterday's attack on a military depot in Sisak (in the Croatian region of Banija).

According to Aksentijevic, the attackers in Sisak 'disarmed the Army and the officers' and managed to take over the depot as the Army had not fired, precisely 'because of the ceasefire.'

Aksentijevic also accused members of the Croatian National Guard and the Croatian Police for attacking a car in Micevac near Zagreb, killing three soldiers and wounding one. Aksentijevic said that the soldiers had been 'executed.'

Major General Aksentijevic said that JNA members in Croatia 'were attacked from houses,' and concluded that a real ceasefire would not come about in Croatia, if the ceasefire agreement was not observed by all the conflicting sides.

Government Warns on Cease-fire Violations

LD0409173891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1537 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 4 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav government today warned that the agreement on cease-fire in Croatia was not being respected and asked the Yugoslav State Presidency president to call a meeting of all signatories of the agreement for tonight.

A statement issued after today's session of the Yugoslav government said that the signatories of the agreement are obliged to take steps to enable full implementation of the decision on cease-fire and the memorandum on extending the activities of the European Community observer mission in Yugoslavia.

The federal government warned that "not a moment should be lost" in implementing the agreement on ceasefire, signed on Monday morning, "since clashes in Croatia threaten to escalate, claim more lives and cause more damage."

The Yugoslav army authorities yesterday announced that the Croatian armed formations carried out 11 attacks on army units and barracks, in which six soldiers wee killed, since the signing of the agreement.

In the meantime, there were clashes in a number of crisis spots in Croatia between the republican forces and armed Serbs, and the media reported that around 50 people were killed.

The Yugoslav government proposed the holding of a joint session of the federal government and the State Presidency so that these two bodies ensure the implementation of obligations undertaken by the signing of the agreement on cease-fire and the memorandum.

The federal government informed the European Council of Ministers president, Hans van den Broek, about these stands.

FEC Urges Cease-Fire Signatories' Meeting

LD0409141991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 4 Sep 91

Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Today's Federal Executive Council [FEC] session discussed the implementation so far of the cease-fire agreement, and concluded that the agreement is not being observed and that the fighting in the Republic of Croatia continues—the FEC Information Secretariat has announced.

The FEC, which is sitting in permanent session, today called on the president of the SFRY Presidency to convene a meeting this evening of all the signatories to the cease-fire agreement.

In the FEC's view, the signatories have the obligation to take steps to ensure full implementation of the cease-fire decision, and of the memorandum to extend the EC observer mission's activities in Yugoslavia.

In view of the seriousness of the situation and the existing obligations, the FEC finds it necessary to stress that all the signatories of the cease-fire agreement are responsible for its implementation, and that to this end no time must be wasted since clashes in Croatia threaten to escalate, and to cause more human casualties and material destruction.

The FEC also proposes a permanent joint session of the SFRY Presidency and the FEC in order that these two bodies, each within its own competence, could ensure that the obligations undertaken by the signing of the memorandum to extend the EC mission monitoring activities in Yugoslavia are met. The FEC has informed Mr van der Broek, president of the EC Council of Ministers, about this.

International

Presidency Session Called on Hague Conference

LD0509102791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0929 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 5 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Stipe Mesic has called a meeting of the Presidency for 10:00 local time (08:00 GMT) tomorrow, Friday.

The Presidency's Information Service said today that the agenda of the meeting of the collective head of state would cover a discussion on the presidency's participation in a peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague.

Kucan Not To Attend 5 Sep Presidency Session

LD0409160891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—"The president of the Slovene Presidency, Milan Kucan, will not attend tomorrow's session of the federal Presidency, because peace, which is the basic requirement for a consensual and democratic settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, has not been insured," a statement for the public says, and adds that "the Brioni declaration and other documents, including the so-called EC Brussels declaration, and the 20 August conclusions of the federal Presidency opted for peace as the basic requirement for a democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis."

The statement further says that "this was decided at the explicit request of the Slovene Assembly, which President Kucan will observe and he will not attend sessions which the Federal Presidency will convene in order to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, as long as the basic requirement for a democratic agreement and search for consensual solution to the Yugoslav crisis, is not met."

Markovic To Attend Hague Conference

LD0409154791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic today received and accepted an invitation to attend the inaugural session of the conference on Yugoslavia, which will be held on 7 September in the Peace Palace in The Hague, the FEC President's Cabinet announced today.

Hans van der Broek, foreign minister of the Netherlands and chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, sent the invitation.

All members of the SFRY Presidency, the FEC President, the presidents of the six Yugoslav republics and the EC Foreign Minister are due to attend the session. British diplomat Lord Carrington will chair the session.

Croatia Will Attend 7 Sep Peace Conference

LD0409155991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1412 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 4 (TANJUG)—Croatia will surely attend the peace conference on Yugoslavia scheduled for September 7, as Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic told reporters today.

The conference is 'designed as an opening of the process of a peace conference, which is a long process,' Separovic said.

'The problem now is whether a peace conference will open unless there is ceasefire, since it was believed that a full ceasefire was a pre-requisite for a peace conference,' Separovic said. He accused the 'Yugoslav People's Army and rebel led Chetnik forces' of violating the ceasefire.

Separovic said 'recognition of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia' was a topical problem because, as he said, 'attempts to that effect have failed so far.'

'We believe this to be only a temporary hold-up,' Separovic said.

Slovene Foreign Minister Returns From Greece

AU0509130391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel returned from his short visit to Athens last night. Upon his arrival, he said that he and his Greek colleague Samaras discussed Slovenia's international recognition and the forthcoming peace conference on Yugoslavia.

Minister Rupel and his Greek host presented a scenario for gaining the recognition of Slovenia's independence.

Special EC Envoy Wijnaendts Returns for Talks

LD0409155391 Hilversum Radio Netherlands in English 1430 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The special European Community envoy Mr. Henri Wijnaendts of the Netherlands has returned to Yugoslavia for talks with the various warring parties.

Fighting in the Republic of Croatia continues in spite of a new cease-fire agreed on Sunday night. Western observers in the region report Serbia is in the process of occupying large parts of Croatia.

Mr Wijnaendt's brief is to try and get the various parties to lay down their arms and demobilize their forces.

Kosutic Says Austria, Germany Helping Croatia

AU0409173791 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1600 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Budimir Kosutic has accused Austrian Foreign Minister Mock of deliberately lying in his efforts to achieve international recognition of Slovenia and Croatia and to thus sign a death sentence for the Serbs in Croatia.

In an interview with APA, Kosutic also said that Mock has repeatedly said that the Federal Army is the first to attack in Croatia and has thus lied intentionally. In Austria it is kept quiet about the fact that the Serbs in Croatia are massacred by the Croatian armed forces.

Furthermore, the Serbian deputy head of government accused the Austrian and German governments of standing by passively while most of the weapons delivered to Croatia come from these two countries—weapons with which innocent Serbian civilians are being killed.

Protest Rally on German Attitude Held in Belgrade

LD0409194891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—A protest meeting was held in front of the German Embassy in Belgrade today, organized by the Solidarnost Association of Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Several hundred people were protesting the fact that, as they put it, "the German Government is supporting the fascist government in the Republic of Croatia [words indistinct] writing lies about the conflicts in Croatia." [passage omitted]

It was announced that protest meetings in front of the German Embassy will be held every Wednesday until the German Government [words indistinct]. The media in Yugoslavia were criticized for not informing the public about the meeting in time.

The most common messages of the slogans, which were written in German and Serbo-Croat, were: "Down with fascists," "Put a stop to fascism and racism in Croatia," "Genscher-Goebbels," "Hitler-Tudjman."

The message of Solidarnost President Jovan Glamocanin to the Germans was that "they should not behave as they did in 1914 and 1941, when genocide was carried out against the Serbian people with the involvement of Germany."

Speaking in German and Serbian, Radomir Smiljanic said that he was "amazed at the bias of the German Government and the one-sidedness of the German press, which is passing over the genocide, the Ustasha policies of the Croatian Government, which treats Croats a priori as democrats and humanists, and Serbs as Bolsheviks and bandits." Smiljanic expressed the hope that the literary and intellectual Germany, which has always valued the freedom-loving Serbian nation, will speak out. [passage omitted]

Minister's Views on 'Brutal' War Cited

LD0409214191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 2025 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Peter Zemanik report from Zagreb]

[Text] For the past three days a cease-fire agreement should have been in operation on the territory of Croatia. For the past three days that agreement has been continually violated. For the past three days it has been turned into a scrap of paper by armed actions in the crisis areas, where the armed conflict has flared afresh and more intensively. The statement issued by the commanders of Serbia's Chetniks and army representatives that Slobodan Milosevic did not represent them in signing any cease-fire on their behalf, and therefore the agreement did not apply to them speaks most succintly about the chaos which reigns in effect everywhere.

At the same time the question arises who is in fact the legitimate representative of these elements. Does a force exist at all which will manage to stop violence and terror of the Serbian Chetniks? In an interview granted to Czechoslovak Television Zvonimir Separovic, the Croatian Foreign Minister, gave an answer to this question. He said: Yes, it is mainly the bravery of Croatian soldiers. International communities are no less important factors. So far as the Serbian minority is concerned, we are willing to provide and guarantee them not only basic human rights but also an autonomy. Let them write in cyrillic, sing their songs, go to their schools. They can have an autonomy and we are even willing to guarantee international supervision. We are preparing ourselves for an international peace conference which will certainly be an important one. The world must however realize that a brutal, dirty, and undeclared war is being waged on Croatian soil. I have just talked to a Czech Government delegation and voiced the view that Croatia is a part of the central European region and does not belong to the Balkans. Prague could become a leading force in Central Europe, which, with a in combination of the Czechs, Slovaks, and also the inhabitants of Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, and other countries would create a region which belongs together historically, culturally, and politically. We need the understanding of the Czechoslovak Government and the parliament.

Greek Foreign Minister Talks With Milosevic

LD0509043191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0018 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 4 (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia, and Andonis Samaras, foreign minister of Greece, voiced their joint wish here this evening for a conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague to contribute to peace and a fair solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia.

In the talk, emphasis was laid on the importance of appreciating the Yugoslav peoples' right to self-determination, while respecting Yugoslavia's integrity.

According to the communique, particular stress in the talk was placed on Greece's friendly and constructive efforts, as an EC member country, to have the crisis in Yugoslavia settled in a democratic way.

Army Weekly Calls EC Documents 'Vague'

LD0509140791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1240 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 5 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army weekly NARODNA ARMIJA writes in its latest issue that the European Community documents signed in Belgrade on September 1 offer solutions to the Yugoslav crisis which are 'vague, unclear and even controversial'.

In a commentary entitled 'Goodwill With a Bit of One-Sidedness, Vagueness and Uncertainty', the magazine says 'the signing of the documents took place in a very delicate situation in which it was becoming growingly difficult to come out with a better solution'. It should also be taken into account that the documents were signed under strong pressure from the European Community which was tantamount to an ultimatum, it adds.

Describing the ceasefire agreement and the memorandum on understanding as 'unexpected and unusual' documents, NARODNA ARMIJA says that 'it is now uncertain whether the E.C. engagement is more conducive to the deepening or to the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis'.

'If the so-called German line prevails in the E.C. policy towards Yugoslavia, which should not be ruled out, then prospects will be diminished both for Yugoslavia to survive the E.C. therapy as a single state and for finding a solution, in case of disassociation, which would be acceptable to all', the magazine says.

Noting that the E.C. adopted the documents on the basis of criteria 'which cannot be described as fully objective and realistic', NARODNA ARMIJA writes that 'the controversial documents put the blame for conflicts on Serbs in Croatia and on Serbians which are allegedly helped by the Yugoslav People's Army'.

'A serious failure is that the representatives of the Serbian people did not sign the documents in whose realization they should take part', the magazine says.

It concludes that 'the bulk of the work has yet to be done' and that 'much effort, political will and persistence will be needed to implement what has been agreed upon'.

Slovenia

Peterle Expects Austrian Recognition Soon

AU0509094691 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 5 Sep 91 p 4

[APA report: "Peterle: Recognition of Slovenia by Vienna 'Within a Few Days'"]

[Excerpt] Washington—Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle stated at a news conference in Washington on 4 September that the recognition of Slovenia by the Austrian Government is close at hand. He said that he expects this step "within a few days." [passage omitted]

Croatia

Croatian Democratic Community Elects Officials

LD0409205891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] A session was held last night in Zagreb of the Central Committee of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. The session was chaired by the HDZ President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, and on the agenda, in addition to the current political situation in the Republic, were proposals by the HDZ Presidency on a new organization for the party's executive bodies. In this connection, Slavko Degoricija was elected the new chairman of the party's executive committee; and Sime Djodan, Stjepan Herceg, Dragutin Hlad, Vinko Hotko, Neven Jurica, Perica Juric, Drago Krpina, Ivan Milas, Marija Peakic-Mukuljan, Bozidar Petrac, Milovan Sibl, Ivan Tolj, Gordana Turic and Djuro Vidmarovic were elected members.

Tudjman Addresses Protesting Croatian Mothers

LD0509103491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0950 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 5 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said here today that Croatia 'will recapture every inch of its soil' and reconstruct its demolished homes.

Tudjman was addressing a welcoming ceremony for about 1,000 Croatian mothers who returned home from the 'wall of [word indistinct] campaign.'

Over the past two days, the women staged demonstrations in Brussels, Bonn and Frankfurt, demanding that their sons be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army and that Europe urge an end to the war in Croatia and recognize its independence.

Croatia, which unilaterally proclaimed independence on June 25, has been the scene of armed conflicts between the republican paramilitary formations and armed Serbs who wish to remain in Yugoslavia.

Tudjman praised the Croatian mothers for their action and said that their testimony was 'very important for the recognition of Croatia's sovereignty and independence'.

The welcoming ceremony started with a musical programme at Zagreb's Jelacic Square yesterday evening and went on throughout the night. The ceremony was broadcast live on Croatian radio and television.

Forces in Baranja Lose 'Last Stronghold'

LD0509101691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0748 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Excerpts] [Dateline and opening passage indistinct]—The Belgrade-Zagreb highway and the Bosanska Gradiska-Okucani road continue to be closed to traffic as is the section between Okucani and Novska on the main railway line between Zagreb and Belgrade.

Croatian radio reported in its morning news bulletins that "reservists from Bosnia have begun crossing the River Sava and landing on the Slavonia side from where they are shelling Croatian defense force positions." These reports, however, have not been confirmed. [passage omitted]

The TANJUG reporter has learned from military sources that (Croatian) guard and police positions on the left bank of the River Drava have been shelled from the village of Bilje in Baranja, 10 kilometers north of Osijek.

Until yesterday Bilje was the last stronghold of the Croatian guard and police in Baranja. The village is now under the control of Serbian territorials. The Croatian forces are concentrated on the banks of the River Drava.

The military sources also stated that the (army) barracks in Osijek came under fire twice overnight but with no casualties among the soldiers. [passage omitted]

Army Reportedly Destroys Novi Varos Village

LD0409153491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Excerpts] While the Nova Gradiska crisis area is currently quiet, the occupying forces of the Banja Luka Corps of the Serbo- communist army, reinforced with Serbian reservists, and armored units of the Bjelovar Corps together with Okucani terrorists are consolidating their positions and are regrouping on the 17 km Stara Gradiska-Okucani front. [passage omitted]

According to incomplete information, the army has flattened the village of Novi Varos. It is assumed that there are many casualties in the village. [passage omitted]

According to the Nova Gradiska medical center, two persons were killed and 15 wounded, including eight seriously injured people, in today's clashes.

Mesic Criticizes Plans for Cease-Fire Agreement

LD0509135991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic sent a letter this morning to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense [SSNO]. The SSNO had sent the federal president a plan of measures and tasks for implementing the cease-fire agreement and a memorandum of agreement on extending the activities of the observer mission in Yugoslavia.

Stipe Mesic assesses that the proposed plan is not in accordance with the provisions of that agreement and memorandum since neither document signed in Belgrade mentions a state commission for the implementation of the cease-fire to which the SSNO and representatives of the Serbian nation in Croatia refer.

Point two of the cease-fire agreement does refer to representatives of the Serbian population in Croatia involved in the hostilities, which is something quite different.

In his letter, President Mesic goes on to say: The cease-fire agreement sets out the obligations to be fulfilled by all the warring sides, including the Yugoslav Army. Each party must fulfill its obligations in an autonomous way, and each will be held accountable for its conduct.

In view of the fact that under the agreement the Yugoslav Army is obliged to withdraw to the barracks without any preconditions, Stipe Mesic calls on the SSNO to inform him whether the Yugoslav Army has begun to withdraw back to the barracks and when the withdrawal is expected to be completed.

German TV Shows 'Unimaginable Atrocities'

LD0409200991 Hamburg DPA in German 1919 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Mainz (DPA)—Second German Television (ZDF) this evening showed pictures of unimaginable atrocities, apparently commited by Serb Chetniks. Viewers saw horribly mutilated corpses filmed on video by Croats on the programme "Studio 1". The presenter said that interviewed German pathologists had stated that manipulation of the corpses shown was quite improbable.

A woman with a face mutilated by injuries had had her heart torn out. There was a gaping hole in her breast, and her heart was on top of it. Dismembered limbs as well as strips of flesh and skin were collected on a village street by weeping relatives and placed in coffins. An eye had been gouged out of a male corpse, and another's stomach had been ripped open. A man, wearing a Croatian policeman's uniform had been burned, and another had had his skull smashed. Even victims who were still alive had been attacked with bayonets, sledgehammers, knives and axes, according to eyewitness reports.

The program made reference to rumors that the Chetniks also included former members of the feared Romanian secret service, the Securitate. The presenter warned that the atrocities shown called for people to take a stance and take action. BILD newspaper quoted ZDF editor in chief Klaus Bresser as saying: "It is important for the public to see the stark face of this terrible civil war, the unimaginable horror."

Just before the program, the presenter referred to the extreme brutality of the images, giving viewers an advance warning.

Talks Attempted, Fighting Continues in Vukovar

AU0409152091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Milena Markovic report from Vukovar]

[Text] After the talks that failed yesterday, Vukovar officials, including Marin [last name indistinct], a Croatian government commissioner for this town, and Ivan Bosnjakovic, a commissioner of the Assembly, today tried to find sensible solutions with the representatives of the Vukovar Garrison on how to put a stop to the fighting.

The Vukovar officials assured the Army representatives that crisis headquarters no longer exist in Croatia, and that the situation is no longer controlled by the members of the Guard but by commissioners from the Assembly and the Croatian Government. The Vukovar officials—who announced their visit to the garrison suddenly and ended it even faster because they had an urgent call to go to Zagreb—today confirmed that they are ready to establish communications, which have been broken for 10 days, clear access to the barracks, and repair communications lines. They also confirmed that water and electricity supplies will be regulated very soon.

They also announced a meeting with representatives of Serbian villages from the Vukovar area. They wanted the Army to ensure the safety of a delegation of Croatian authorities. This will finally be decided by the command.

After such meetings one would have expected the clashes in the Vukovar area to end, yet they continue. So, after the talks in the Vukovar Garrison, a unit of the Yugoslav People's Army was attacked in Negoslavci. Attacks by the Guard on Petrova Gora are becoming increasingly frequent. A few minutes ago members of the Guard opened mortar fire. Shots were also fired at an Army unit that was near the barracks. This unit prevented the Guard from hijacking a damaged tank.

Fighting is continuing and no easy solution to the situation is in sight.

Osijek Reports Continuing Mortar Attacks

LD0509064391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] At 0500 this morning Osijek again came under mortar attack. The western part of the town is being hit by grenades fired from Baranja. The defense forces in Nova Tenja came under fire at 0300 from multiple rocket launchers positioned at the "C" military test range.

Since 2115 last night Osijek has been under constant mortar fire from the Chetnik terrorist positions in Baranja. Several shells landed in the center of the town. Another mortar attack was carried out at about midnight when three large grenades hit the suburb of Vijenac Ivana Mestrovica. There has been constant machine-gun fire in that part of the town since then. The population of Osijek spent the night in shelters. There is no public transport in the town this morning.

One wounded person was admitted to the Osijek general hospital. A session of the municipal assembly scheduled for today has been cancelled.

Explosions Shake Vukovar; Gunfire Heard

LD0509073791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Last night the tank forces of the occupying army from Petrovci ad Bogdanovci began to advance toward the Vukovar suburb of Luzac. The Croatian defense forces repelled the attack, destroying three tanks and several armored vehicles and forcing the enemy to withdraw.

There was gun fire in Borovo Naselje too but by about midnight everything became quiet. It was peaceful in the area until 0600 when two powerful explosions in a so far unidentified area shook Vukovar. Intermittent fire can still be heard in the town.

Army Operation Continues; Highway Reported Closed

AU0509073991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Gojko Serbula report]

[Text] Last night, members of the Croatian Guard and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were again sporadically shooting on the road between Bosanska or Stara Gradiska and Okucani. They were opening fire from the Prasnik forest, the village of Kosovac, east of Okucani, toward Nova Gradiska.

Yesterday, the unit of the Yugoslav People's Army from the Banja Luka Corps eliminated all positions held by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Novi Varos and on the highway. All obstacles on the highway through Novi Varos all the way to Okucani, where the Territorial Defense forces and a unit of the Yugoslav People's Army

from Bjelovar were stationed, were removed and defused. This road is now controlled by the forces of the Yugoslav People's Army.

During yesterday's fighting, in which both sides used artillery and infantry weapons, several members of the Guard and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were killed and dozens wounded. One soldier from the Yugoslav People's Army unit from the Banja Luka Corps was wounded slightly. The Okucani Territorial Defense had two wounded soldiers. Seven members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard were taken prisoners.

Members of the Guard and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are currently concentrating their forces near the village of Kostovac and Gornji Bogicevci, near Okucani. Artillery fire was heard coming from this direction this morning.

And finally, the highway between Bosanska Gradiska and Okucani is still closed to traffic. Traffic has also been stopped on the highway at Okucani. Rail traffic between Okucani and Novska is also disrupted. In other words, there is no traffic between Belgrade and Zagreb.

Tanks Attack Nova Gradiska; Mortars Fired

LD0509074791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] The terrorists were held back overnight on the western front of the Nova Gradiska crisis area. However, at 0600 four mortars were fired from the position at Sagovina Masicka in the direction of Nova Gradiska. At about 0200 this morning, from the Bosnian bank of the river Sava, Serbian reservists began an attack with all types of light and heavy weapons on the village of Savski Bok. At the same time a tank attack was launched on the southern part of the Nova Gradiska municipality.

The reservists from Bosnia have been landing on the banks of the river Sava on the Slavonija side between Savski Bok and Mackovci, where they have been firing at Savski Bok. The village of Dragalic was attacked shortly before 0600 with four mortars. The [Zagreb-Belgrade] highway is still closed at Okucani.

Serbian 'Terrorists' Launch Mortar Attack

LD0509083291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] The Sisak regional information center has announced that at 0645 this morning Serbian terrorists launched a mortar attack on Sunja. In half an hour Sunja was hit by dozens of 120-mm mortar shells which landed in the center of the town, causing considerable damage to buildings. The defenders of Sunja—the forces of the Interior Ministry and the National Guard Corps—responded readily and succeeded in repelling this latest mortar attack. According to the latest reports, there were no casualities in this attack on Sunja by Serbo-terrorists.

Soldiers Refusing To Fight Allegedly Shot Dead

AU0509093191 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] According to the Croatian Defense Staff, several soldiers of the Yugoslav Federal Army were allegedly shot dead by their officers because they refused to shoot at unarmed civilians. According to Western observers in Slavonia, this region is virtually cut off from the Republic of Croatia.

Meanwhile, the Albanian Government has demanded that representatives of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia take part in the peace conference on Yugoslavia scheduled by the EC to take place in The Hague on 7 September.

Five Mines Detonated Midday at Pakrac

AU0509125691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] TANJUG reports that five mines were thrown at Pakrac around midday today. Pakrac is controlled by Croatian guardsmen and police, while the nearby villages are held by the Serbian territorials.

The town is still without water. TANJUG reports that the Croatian Government emissary for Pakrac has announced talks for establishing a truce. No details about the talks have been reported yet.

Fighting Reported Continuing in Vukovar

AU0509125991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] The situation in the town of Osijek is relatively peaceful, but the fighting continues on the northern access roads in Baranja. It is expected that Netherlands Ambassador Henri Wijnaendts will visit Osijek today. He will meet with the representatives of the Croatian Government and the Yugoslav Peoples' Army.

TANJUG reports that there were fierce clashes in the surroundings of Vukovar this morning. However, we have no detailed information about them. The town of Vukovar is controlled by the Croatian guardsmen and police. Armed Serbs are situated in the neighboring villages surrounding Vukovar.

Army Launches Response; Damage 'Enormous'

AU0509135691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Our correspondent Mirko Stankovic has just sent us a report that intensified shooting in the direction of the barracks of the Vukovar Garrison of the Yugoslav People's Army, the mines planted around it, and the encirclement of the barracks by the members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the fighters of the so-called National Guard indicate that what might have happened has actually happened.

This morning at 0706 [0506 GMT], in accordance with the order of the Supreme Staff, the Army responded to yet another armed provocation and returned fire. Judging by the intensity of fire, this was the heaviest response in the last month. The counterattack was carried out by armored vehicles, artillery, infantry, the river fleet, the air force, and the members of the Territorial Defense of some Serbian villages that, together with the members of the Army, found themselves in a position to defend themselves.

Operations began from the direction of Negoslavci. The actions are supported by strong artillery and mortar fire. Everything is directed at the positions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard. Many buildings have been hit. Among them is the Veterans' and Pensioners' Hall, which is in the suburb of (?Misnica). An appeal for help was sent via local radio. The damage is enormous. A number of dead and wounded is also mentioned.

Updated Croatian Casualty Figures Reported

LD0509151891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1340 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb September 5 (TANJUG)—Sixty-one cases of one-sided violations of the agreement on ceasefire have been reported in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia since the signing of the document on September 2, as the Croatian Interior Ministry announced here today.

Eight members of the republican police and National Guard were killed and 20 were wounded in around 20 heavy armed clashes in the past two days alone. The number of casualities in yesterday's fighting in Nova Varos, near Okucani, has not been established yet.

Seven civlians were killed and five wounded in the fierce clashes in Osijek, Vukovar and around Okucani in past two days.

Serbia

Serbia Not Fully Accepting EC Declaration

LD0409170991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Neither the Serbian government nor anyone else in the republic has fully accepted the EC declaration. The government, the republican president, and the Serbian representatives in the SFRY Presidency have endorsed objectives and instruments laid in the declaration, but they have not accepted accusations against our people in Croatia and the Yugoslav People's Army. Vice-president of the Serbian Government, Budimir [Kosutic] stressed this at today's news conference following a government meeting.

Serbian Foreign Affairs Minister Vladislav Jovanovic was also at today's news conference. Asked whether Serbia accepts Lord Carrington as the chairman of the peace conference on Yugoslavia, Jovanovic said that the appointment is not subject to approval. He then added that he respects Lord Carrington and his abilities, which were demonstrated in similar circumstances. Jovanovic believes that, apart from republican President Slobodan Milosevic, (?one) more government member, most likely the foreign affairs minister, and experts should attend the peace conference.

Journalists wanted to find out how the Serbian government views the meeting between Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic and Hungarian Premier Joszef Antall [words indistinct]. At a FEC session, several ministers adopted this stand, but despite everything, Markovic went to Subotica saying that this was just a working meeting and that he did not have time to cancel it, although he convened the FEC session a day before the Subotica meeting, Kosutic said. He added that Markovic said that the FEC unanimously endorsed the declaration, although government members from Serbia criticized it. He then stressed that [words indistinct] the situation regarding Croatian representatives in the federal bodies, and undertake appropriate measures.

Asked to comment on the selection of the mediation commission members, Minister Jovanovic said that these were EC candidates and not candidates of individual countries. He also voiced the conviction that they will offer legal expertise in finding solutions which will satisfy the interests of all Yugoslav nations.

Asked about the conduct of SFRY Assembly Vice President Irfan Ajanovic on a public platform in Novi Pazar, Kosutic said that it was sad that someone in a high office is breaking the criminal law. In any case, competent bodies will assess the nature of Ajanovic's statements.

Journalists were also asking about alternative TV news on Terazije Square in Belgrade. Kosutic stressed that Belgrade is an open and democratic city in which it is possible to express one's views in this manner too. He added that the government is putting the final touches on the list of members of the managing board of Belgrade Radio and TV, which should include people who do not belong to any political party, as well as representatives of parliamentary parties. With their reputation, these people would leave little room for objections. The board will then advertise for all editorial jobs, to which only the best journalists should be elected.

Kosutic informed journalists that the government today considers the proposals regarding new republican symbols [words indistinct] which are due to be adopted by 28 September. [passage indistinct]

Kosutic Says Talks Should Have Been Postponed

LD0509110891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] According to the deputy leader of the Serbian Government, the Yugoslav-Hungarian prime ministers' meeting that was held in Subotica on 3 September, should have been

postponed. The justification given by Deputy Prime Minister Kosutic was that Budapest has taken several measures that are contrary to good-neighborly relations and the stipulations of the Helsinki process.

The hard-line Serbian politician also criticized the Federal Government because it had unanimously taken a position on the EC statement even though Serbia had objected to the passages pertaining to the republic's responsibility.

Draskovic Proposes Barter Deal To Resolve Crisis

AU0509130591 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] In an interview with APA, Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the biggest Serbian opposition party, proposed a barter deal to solve the crisis in the SFRY. According to him, Croatia would have to cede the areas where Serbs live to Serbia. In return, Zagreb should take control of those parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina where a Croatian majority lives.

Draskovic does not think that the EC peace conference, which is planned for 7 September, has much chance of success.

Croatian Attacks on YPA Detailed

LD0309214291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1848 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 3 (TANJUG)—The Croatian armed forces today at 13:00 local time attacked the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in Osijek, northeastern Croatia.

Aide to the federal defence minister Lieutenant General Marko Negovanovic told a news conference that the attack on the Osijek barracks is still underway.

Negovanovic accused the armed forces of Croatia of violating the agreement on a ceasefire.

Two soldiers and two army reservists were killed, Negovanovic said, while 12 have been wounded in yesterday's attacks by Croatian armed units on YPA barracks in Petrinja, Croatian region of Banija. Three children have been killed and one civilian has been seriously wounded by grenades which were dropped close to the barracks, Negovanovic said.

Negovanovic said that apart from the barracks in Petrinja, the Croatian forces yesterday also attacked the military part of "Pleso" airport in Zagreb, YPA units near the villages of Negoslavci and Bogdanovci, military facilities "Podostra" near Gospic, in central Croatia and barracks in Gospic and Vinkovci.

Negovanovic said that Croatia at the same moment its forces attacked the military facilities and YPA members, informed "influential international factors who favor Croatia" that it has been attacked.

Negovanovic asked "how would it be possible then for a foreign minister of an influential European state, practically at the same time as the beginning of the attack by the armed Croatian units on YPA units and facilities, to know about the events and make opposite qualifications."

Negovanovic said that the YPA will withdraw to barracks when paramilitary units in Croatia are disbanded, reserve units of the Croatian police are demobilized and regular units of the Croatian police and guard are reduced to a normal level.

Army Engaged in Fighting Near Okucani, Croatia

AU0409093091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The operation of mopping up the road between Strug Canal, Novi Varos, and the highway at Okucani is under way. The units of the Yugoslav People's Army from the Banja Luka Corps are taking part in this. This is the final response to the constant provocations by the members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard, who used mortars last night.

The Army defended its positions and is directing its fire on the large forest of Prasnjika and the fields near the village of Pivare, where strong Croatian forces are deployed.

Fierce fighting is also going on the road toward Gradiska outside Okucani, particularly in the village of (?Kostovac). The Territorial Defense of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia was also attacked.

Croatia National Guards Killed in Baranja

AU0409143791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Mirko Stankovic report]

[Text] Baranja can finally breathe with a relief. The last stronghold of the members of [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard fell yesterday and since last night a Yugoslav flag is flying in this place. Several dozens of the members of the Corps of the so-called National Guard were killed defending this stronghold. The mopping up of the woods in Kopacki Rit, where the routed members of the defense sought temporary shelter, is currently under way.

At its first session the Baranja Government accepted the Constitution and Laws of the Republic of Serbia. A new statute is being drafted in line with the statue of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem. Schools will start work on 1 October and life is gradually normalizing.

Osijek has been under mortar and artillery fire for more than 20 hours. The fire alternates from being sporadic to heavy as in a real war. The positions of its defenders were mainly the target of these attacks. A list of casualities has been issued: 14 persons were killed and 28 were wounded.

Strong mortar fire also shook the surrounding area of the town on the Drava. In the last several hours 250 projectiles fell on (?Lastovo) alone. The neighboring Serbian villages are (?accused) of firing these destructive loads. However, it is also said that these villages had previously been provoked.

A fairly quiet night in Vukovar was preceded by a strong mortar duel between Borovo Selo and Borovo Naselje. In a relatively short period of time these two places exchanged about 300 projectiles. The consequences of these projectiles became obvious only in the dawn.

A curfew has been introduced in Vinkovci and is in effect from 2200 to 0500. The movement of people is under control but not that of mortar projectiles which mainly come from Mirkovci as the answer to frequent armed provocations that come from the town on the Bosut and some neighboring villages.

New Fighting Resumes Near Osijek, Okucani

LD0409150191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1322 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb/Osijek, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—Fighting between Yugoslav Army units and members of the Croatian guard and police resumed earlier this afternoon near Osijek, a town in eastern Slavonia.

The command of the Osijek garrison said the Croatian guard and police attacked a column of Yugoslav Army vehicles heading for a military range south of Osijek. The Army returned fire and the column managed to reach the range.

Military sources claim that almost all apartments of military personnel in Osijek have been raided and looted.

According to the same sources, the fiercest fighting is taking place in the villages of Laslovo and Palace, south of Osijek. There are still no reports on casualties.

The Croatian guard and police have left the village of Bilje, one of their last strongholds in the region of Baranja north of Osijek.

Fierce fighting is also taking place in Western Slavonia near the town of Okucani. The section of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway near Okucani is closed for traffic.

Croatian Guards Withdraw From Positions

LD0409151291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Bosanska Gradiska, 4 Sep (TANJUG)— Following today's clash with a unit of the Yugoslav army's Banja Luka Corps, units of the Croatian National Guard Corps and Ministry of Internal Affairs have withdrawn from Novi Varos, a village near Okucani, and from positions at the toll gates on the [Zagreb-Belgrade] highway.

The Croatian forces, as Tanjug's correspondent reports, are also withdrawing from the area of Pivare and Donji Bogicevci, not far from Stara Gradiska on the left bank of the Sava. [passage indistinct]

There are several dead and wounded among the members of the Croatian forces, while two soldiers from the ranks of the Yugoslav army were slightly wounded, and three fighters of the Okucani territorial defence were also wounded. Territorialist Djuro Radosavljevic from the village of Benkovac near Okucani died in the fighting against the Guards.

Radio Reports 'Real War' Raging Around Okucani

AU0409161791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Excerpt] What is happening in the war region between Bosanska Gradiska and Okucani? Here is our special correspondent Milos Rajkovic with a report:

[Rajkovic] In the vicinity of Stara Gradiska and Okucani, a real war is raging. According to my information, units of the National Guard Corps and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia that were stationed in the Novi Varos village last night attacked a tank unit of the Banja Luka Corps that is guarding the bridge over the Sava. The fighting was interrupted at about midnight, only to resume at 0500 this morning with an even fiercer intensity.

Several people have been killed and wounded among the members of the National Guard Corps and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia, while on the other side, Djuro Radosavljevic, member of the Territorial Defense units was killed. Three members of the Territorial Defense units have been wounded.

Concerning the Army soldiers, we have learned, although this has not been completely confirmed, that one soldier has been killed, but his name has still not been publicized. Srdjan Petrovic and Dejan (?Sabat) have been wounded and hospitalized in the Bosanska Gradiska Medical Center.

Meanwhile, the Army has entered Novi Varos, so that it now controls the town of Okucani and vicinity around it. Members of the Yugoslav People's Army have gained control over the toll station at the Zagreb-Belgrade

highway near Okucani and the traffic at that section of the road (?has been stopped). Railroad traffic along the main line between Zagreb and Belgrade has also been stopped. It is clear that this present fighting is the fiercest so far. [passage omitted]

'Chetnik' Leader Seselj Convinced of Victory

AU0409164591 Vienna KURIER in German 4 Sep 91 p 2

[I. Steiner report from Belgrade: "Chetnik Leader Seselj: 'We Will Win the War!'"]

[Text] No matter how many cease-fires are concluded with great effort by the Serbian and Croatian governments—as long as Vojislav Seselj, the Serbian Chetnik leader, is permitted to pull his martial strings without any hindrance, any cease-fire is just a lot of waste paper. "We will win this war," the stout 36-year-old sociologist said yesterday, 3 September, expressing his usual certainty of victory. He ignores the EC's efforts for mediation, which might thwart the ultraradical parliamentary deputy's dream of a Greater Serbia. Because of the quite simple justification: The EC, the United States, but, above all Germany and its "satellite state Austria" support and arm the hated Croatians.

Coolly, Seselj claims in an interview with KURIER that the "Ustasha fascists" have violated the latest cease-fire. And he adds with a smile: "We are not unhappy about that. We will hit back." Negotiations about a withdrawal from the conquered areas in Croatia are unthinkable, the string-puller of the Chetniks says, becoming enraged. It is also unthinkable to pull his guerrillas back before they have not conquered more than half of the territory of the Croatian republic. "The new borders will run along the line of Karlobag, Ogulin, Karlovac, and Virovitica. Croatia would still have Zagreb, Istria, and Rijeka—that is enough."

With obvious pleasure, Seselj rolls the cartridge of a Kalashnikov rifle between his fingers. "We have enough weapons." Weapons, which he threatens without any hesitation to use in Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Kosovo, and generally "everywhere where Serbian interests are in danger." Seselj peevishly rejects doubts that he can use his brutal methods on several fronts at the same time: "We have always been alone and we have always won. What do we care that we have lost the Soviet Union as our last ally."

However, Seselj does not act without a political safety net. The ruling Communists in Serbia tacitly support his actions, when he does the dirty work for Serbia's President Milosevic with his private war. Seselj's troops are estimated at 20,000 men. However, many have probably slipped out of his control and are attacking on their own now.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Pro-Army Rally Held in Bosnia

LD0309193891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Several thousand people have gathered at a rally for Yugoslavia in front of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly. The rally, organized by a committee of women of several nationalities, is giving strong support to the Yugoslav People's Army.

So far, several speakers have condemned the actions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government, which, as they put it, is obstructing the implementation of laws on military service and recruits. On this occasion, chants of "Treason, treason" could be heard. [passage indistinct]

Sarajevo TV is carrying a live broadcast of the rally.

Serb-Muslim Tension in Bosnian Town

LD0409211191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Ljubovija - Bratunac, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—The situation in Bratunac (Bosnia-Hercegovina) has, since about 1100 today, [words indistinct] as in the whole municipality, which is predominantly inhabited by Muslims. All approach roads are blocked, telephone lines are down, and the Serbian village of Kravice, in which two Muslims were killed and two were wounded last night following provocations and shooting, is completely surrounded.

So far, some 2,500 Serbs, mainly women and children, have fled to Ljubovija, and their number is constantly increasing. Not even members of the police were able to guarantee the safety of journalists in Bratunac, nor, as they say, for anyone else.

It all began last Friday when, despite assurances from officials in the Bratunac municipal assembly that everything would be alright, members of the Tuzla Corps were thwarted in their attempt to take possession of files on army recruits. The hindrance was, it became clear, organized by the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratska Akcija]. Next evening, a young Muslim fired two shots at the president of the executive committee of the Bratunac Municipal Assembly, Rodoljub Djukanovic, but fortunately did not hit him.

Vitomir Zepinic, Bosnia-Hercegovina deputy minister of internal affairs, arrived in Bratunac today, and it is expected, according to reports, that members of the Ministry for Internal Affairs will also arrive from Sarajevo, since there are too many indications that the tense and volatile situation could otherwise turn into serious conflicts with undesirable and unforseeable consequences.

Army 'Not Welcome' in Prozor, Other Communes

AU0509083691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Omer Latric report]

[Text] In compliance with the decision of the Communal Council for National Defense, the Prozor headquarters of the Territorial Defense removed its [military] records last weekend and thus made it practically impossible for the superior district or republican headquarters to mobilize members of the Prozor Territorial Defense or call them up for exercises.

To find out what was going on, Colonel Ismail Ibrahimovic, the commander of the district headquarters from Mostar, and his assistant set off for Prozor yesterday. Because of his uniform and the territorial defense insignia on the car, some residents started to grumble immediately. Then they started throwing Tito's pictures and shouting anti-Army slogans.

During the talks with the communal president several dozens people assembled in the assembly building itself. They smashed several pictures of Tito in the hall through which the colonel was supposed to leave. When he did leave the office, after the talks the colonel, he was hit over the head with one of the pictures. The colonel and his assistant left Prozor with the crowd jeering and shouting abuses regarding the colonel's Serbian nationality. The police had to assist the duo.

The president of the Prozor commune says that they removed the records of the Territorial Defense and the lists of future draftees for understandable reasons. The officers of the Yugoslav People's Army should understand that they are not welcome in this and many other communes. Mijo Jozic said that they should themselves introduce some kind of moratorium on their visits until the situation calms down and a solution has been found.

The fact is that this moratorium has already been introduced. No one wearing army uniform dares go to the communes of West Hercegovina. Alerting or mobilizing territorial defense units in communes with a majority Croat population and putting them under the command of the republican command of the Territorial Defense is out of the question.

In these communes mistrust in the army and the territorial defense subordinated to it is such that they only exist on paper. Their existence is manifested merely in one or several employees working in the communal staffs of the territorial defense organization, which cannot do anything.